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SUPPLEMENTARY MEMOIRS,

&c. &c.

PART I.

AMBIGUOUS CHARACTER OF THE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS.

THAT the learned author of the Historical Memoirs, besides vindicating his own conduct, means to serve the Catholic cause, according to his own conception of it, cannot be doubted. But, by *the Catholic cause,* many of its advocates, now-a-days, understand, not the safety and prosperity of the *Catholic Religion itself,* as our forefathers understood it, but the exemption of its professors from certain civil disadvantages under which they labour: and to obtain this, too many of them seem to consider that *the end justifies the means;* and accordingly they employ a variety of disguises and other artifices, unworthy of an honourable cause, and much more of the Catholic religion. The writer will be under the necessity of exposing too many of such artifices in the course of the present review, and he actually sees some of

them in the very beginning of the work he is now reviewing. In fact, what uninformed person, on perusing the first pages of the *Memoirs* concerning "the (alleged) great ignorance "and the many superstitious practices in the "Catholic Churches, the great dissoluteness "in the lower, and the great luxury in the "higher ranks of the clergy, the exorbitant "pretensions of the ecclesiastical body in gene-"ral and particularly the claims of the see of "Rome," previously to the Reformation;* as likewise what is here quoted from Gibbon concerning "the numerous portion of Chris-"tians, who had long anxiously wished to sim-"plify both the religious creed and the religious "observances of the times;"† in which number the filthy Paulicians appear to be included, with the other accompanying matter, would not suppose that the learned author meant to *vindicate* the pretended Reformation? In like manner, if such uninformed person were to judge of our historian's sentiments by the whole of what he writes concerning the divorce of Henry from his lawful consort,‡ concerning "the Pope's "encroachments on the Sovereign and Church "of England, and his abuse of his spiritual "power,"§ as also concerning the statute, declaring "the King to be head of the Church,"‖

* Page 15, second Edition. † Page 16.
‡ Page 28, &c. § Page 39. ‖ Page 104.

would he not doubt whether the historian approved or disapproved of these several measures? and finally, would he not hesitate to pronounce whether the author is, in fact, a Catholic or a Protestant? And yet, it may be safely affirmed, that the uncertainty in question consists more in the language than in the mind of the historiographer; and that it is to promote his views of the Catholic cause, that he thus compromises with the prejudices of Protestants. This observation holds equally good with respect to a passage of the Memoirs, more glittering than substantial, concerning the separation of England from the Catholic church, where the author thus expresses himself; "may "the writer be permitted to suggest, that, "amidst the various causes of this great cala- "mity, not any, perhaps, had greater influence "than the mistaken notions entertained on both "sides respecting the nature of spiritual and "temporal power. When the Pope assumed "the temporal, and the King assumed the spi- "ritual, each was equally in the wrong. If, by "a happy anticipation, a Bossuet had arisen "and explained to the Pope that he had no "right to legislate in temporal concerns, or to "enforce his spiritual legislation by temporal "power, and to the monarch, that he had no "right to legislate in spiritual concerns, or to "enforce his temporal legislation by spiritual

" power, it is possible that the schism might " have been avoided, and a moderate scheme of " reformation adopted, which would have sa- " tisfied the wise and the good of both par- " ties."* Does then Mr. C. B. mean seriously to charge the illustrious Popes of the sixteenth century with not understanding the nature of their divine commission? Does he really believe that it was through ignorance of the limits of his temporal power, that Henry VIII. assumed the jurisdiction of the Sovereign Pontiff? So far from this, he himself represents the King as originally entertaining too high notions of the Papal power.† Again, if Henry had wanted theological instruction, does not he think that Cardinal Pole or Bishop Fisher could have given it full as well as Bossuet? Finally, does he affect to doubt, whether, if these three prelates had combined to lecture the monarch, the allurements of Anna Boleyn would not have silenced them all? Leaving our author, therefore, at full liberty to descant on the progress of literature, the nature and variety of monastic institutions, and a great number of other incidental subjects, as he does through many uninteresting pages, the present writer will confine his observations to the chief points of that " moderate scheme of Reformation," which the learned gentleman has long aimed and con-

* Page 104. † Page 23.

tinues to aim at introducing among the English Catholics.

THE SPIRITUAL SUPREMACY OF THE CROWN.

It might be thought that the explicit terms of the act and oath of supremacy, the professed object of Henry and Elizabeth in getting them enacted, and the blood of Fisher, More, and a full hundred more of other English martyrs, shed in testimony of their unlawfulness, would have precluded for ever, among Catholics, all inquiry concerning their meaning. But these arguments, which carried conviction to the breasts of our religious forefathers, have lost their force on too many of their worldly-minded descendants. Among the Catholic advocates of the condemned oath of 1791, it is not surprising that many were found to maintain the lawfulness of taking the abovementioned test of Protestantism. One of these, a titled gentleman, stifly maintained that, as the King is a civil character, so the supremacy sworn to him, as head of the Church, must be civil also!* Another writer, and he an ecclesiastic, who had sworn to the creed of P. Pius IV, has allured the Catholic body to reduce this doctrine to practice; telling them, in a publication re-

* Second Letter to the Catholic Clergy, by a Layman—Further Considerations, by Ditto.

peatedly cited by our historian; that: "One "bold man, by taking the Oath (of Supremacy) "may dissipate the whole charm of prejudice, "and restore us to the most valuable privilege "of British citizens."* Another professing Catholic maintains, that: "The objections "of Catholics to the Oath of Supremacy, relate "more to the wording of it than to its sub-"stance."† He then adopts the pretence of the Jansenist heretics, where he says: "The "lawfulness of religious tenets, expressed in an "oath, is a question of theology, but the mean-"ing of words, or the sense of any particular "passage is a matter of personal judgment."‡ He then complains that: "Few of our mis-"sionaries possess what is so necessary to the "study of the Canon Law, *a juridical mind.*"§ Other Catholics of the present age have expressed themselves equally favourable to that oath, the taking of which, in the two last ages was considered as a formal abjuration of the Catholic

* Memoirs of Panzani, Introd. page 11.

† Two Memoirs by J. J. Dillon, Esq. page 23.

‡ Ibid. page 27.

§ Append. page v.—It is presumed that the learned Barrister will allow that Lord Chief Justice Cook, at least, possessed *a juridical mind:* now this noble Author, writing about the King's Supremacy, affirms that he is: "*Persona mixta et unita cum sacerdotibus.*"—The above quoted learned Barrister with the help of his *juridical mind* professes to have made a "discovery" in theology and the Canon

Religion. But the circumstance that most alarms the sincere professors of it is the very great interest which so many of their brethren took in the fate of Lord Grey's motion in the House of Lords, last year, and of General Thornton's in the pre-

Law, which he justly terms *novel*, but which " he trusts he " shall be able to prove correct." Having then stipulated with the Legislature, " in favour of the Irish Catholics, for " the ministry of *Bishops in Holy Orders*," he proceeds to his discovery as follows: " The character or faculty of the " ministry, it is true, emanates from and can be conferred " by the Church alone; and the clergy of *whatever order* in " the Church, *Lectors, Acolyths, Regular Clergy, &c. &c.* " hold their abstract spiritual functions solely *under a divine* " *commission* as *successors of the Apostles!* these faculties not " being of human institution.—But, although the state en- " joy not the power of conferring the abstract faculty of " divine ministers, it is invested by the fundamental rules of " society, and in virtue of its civil supremacy, and plenum " dominium, with a right of controul over all persons who " are its subjects, of ordering its domestic polity; and, " therefore, with a right of declaring *by what persons, in* " *what places, and under what qualifications,* that *spiritual* " power, which it cannot confer, *shall be exercised* within its " dominions!" *Two Memoirs*, page 41.—Now, as the determination of the above-mentioned three points precisely constitutes *spiritual Faculties*, or divine jurisdiction, and as the Protestant clergyman in most parts of England possesses the authority of the state, it would follow, according to the discovery of the acute Barrister, that the Catholic Priest ought to take out his faculties from the neighbouring parson, instead of his Vicar Apostolic!—Yet has this writer been publicly thanked, and munificently rewarded for his publications, by a certain description of Catholics!

ceding year, for suppressing the present Declaration against Transubstantiation and the Invocation of the Saints, leaving the oath against the Pope's Supremacy as it has always stood since the reign of Elizabeth: for, say these good Catholics, of what avail to our brethren is the getting rid of one chain, if they are to continue equally confined by the other? nor is it conceivable, that the gallant General and the noble Lord would take so much pains to free the Catholics from one of these bonds, if they had not sufficient grounds for believing that many of the latter were disposed, by their own efforts, to throw off the other.

The above-stated observations were necessary, in order to shew the circumstances under which the author of the Historical Memoirs brings forward his "Inquiry into the Nature "and Extent of the Spiritual Supremacy con- "ferred by the Legislative Acts on Queen "Elizabeth."* It is true, the author does not profess to argue from himself, in favour of the Oath of Supremacy; he bearly adduces the arguments of other professing Catholics for the lawfulness of it; but he must be conscious, that he is thereby diminishing the horror which Catholics in general have entertained of it, and furnishing the ambitious and avaricious among them with pretexts for taking it.

* Page 157.

However this may be, the writer will proceed to examine the validity of these pretensions.

——— The first of them, mentioned by the learned gentleman, stands briefly thus: there having been an alliance between the Church and the State in this as well as in other Christian countries, in virtue of which the latter conferred on the former a certain temporal power, the Act of Supremacy is to be understood, as barely resuming this temporal power, and therefore the oath barely means an acquiescence in this resumption.—But can any man of common sense and honesty explain in this sense the principal clause of the Act, which professes to confer on the Sovereign, "all manner of *spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction* to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such *heresies, schisms,* &c. which, by *any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical* power, *can* or may be lawfully *reformed:*" all which spiritual power it expressly *denies to the Pope?**—The second pretext is grounded on Elizabeth's Proclamation, disclaiming for herself the ecclesiastical ministry, and on the 37th of the XXXIX Articles repeating that Proclamation. But what is the plain sense of all this? Barely that the Queen had no intention of mounting the pulpit and administering the

* 1 Elizabeth, c. i.

Sacraments herself; not that she disclaimed the right and jurisdiction, by which her clergy were to exercise these faculties. In fact, during the whole of her reign, she rigidly claimed to be the only source of all spiritual, as well as temporal power in her dominions, and she exercised a more absolute authority over her clergy in doctrinal as well as disciplinary matters, than any Pope ever challenged over the clergy of his communion.—— The third pretence consists of a self-refuting quotation, from the inconsistant Protestant Bishop, Bramhall. The fourth and last plea is made up of historical falsehoods, where it states, that the clergy of Henry's and Elizabeth's reigns, took the Oath of Supremacy, and that " objections to it were " first made by the priests, who came to Eng- " land from the foreign seminaries."* True it is that many of the clergy especially in the former reigns, deceived by delusive expositions of the oath, or acting in opposition to their avowed sentiments, took the oath, to save their lives and fortunes ; but that hundreds of them suffered imprisonment, exile, and death itself, for refusing to swear to the royal spiritual supremacy, before one seminary priest arrived in England, can hardly be unknown

* Page 162.

to the learned historian himself.*—Having detailed these arguments in favour of the oath, the author proceeds to give, what he calls, " his " own impressions on the subject," which are briefly these, that " were it quite clear that the " interpretation contended for is the true in- " terpretation of the oath, and quite clear also " that the oath was and is thus universally in- " terpreted by the nation, then the author " conceives, that there might be strong ground " to contend that it was consistent with Ca- " tholic principles to take the oath of supre- " macy.—He also thinks it highly probable " that, if a legislative interpretation *could now* " *be obtained,* the *interpretation would be adopt-*

* The historian Dodd gives us a list of fifty-nine Catholics, chiefly Priests, Carthusians and Franciscans, exclusive of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, who were put to death for opposing Henry's spiritual supremacy; besides an equal number of them who were starved to death in prison, and without reckoning the vast number of Priests and Religious, who were turned adrift on the world, without any provision, on the same account. Vol. i. p.p. 342, 343. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign all the Bishops, " except the calamity of his see," Kitchin of Landaff, were turned out of their bishopricks, for refusing the oath, at the same time, that the Universities and Cathedrals were stripped of all their brightest ornaments from the same cause as Anthony Wood, Collier and other Protestant writers testify. Now all this took place several years before the Seminaries were founded.

" *ed.*"* Such are the historian's impressions with respect to this subject, the tendency of which impressions on the minds of the Catholics, who are influenced by him is unfortunately too obvious; in the mean time, he does not appear to be at all conscious that his pastors, or the church herself has any right to pronounce in a question which implicates the very foundation of her faith and discipline.

THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE.

The alleged usurpation and abuse of this power are the never-ending theme of modern philosophers, interested Protestants, and temporizing Catholics; they are the deafening burden of both of our author's volumes of *Historical Memoirs,* as they were heretofore of his three quarto *Blue Books*. Let us endeavour to form just and accurate ideas on this misre-

* Page 162. A similar decision was delivered by an ecclesiastic of great weight in the English mission, when being asked by a noble Lord, whether it is lawful for Catholics to take the Oath of Supremacy? his answer was: *If the twelve judges will declare, that it bears such and such a sense, it may be taken.* On the writer's observing to him, that, *If such an interpretation of the oath could make it lawful, our holy martyrs need not have lost their heads for refusing it;* he replied, *They would not be such fools as to lose their heads on this account now-a-days!*

presented subject. First: then do St. Thomas Aquinas, Turrecremata, Bellarmin, and the other advocates of this power represent the Pope as an universal monarch, who has a right to take and give away the kingdoms of the earth? No. So far from this, they teach that, as Pope, he has no direct power or temporal property whatsoever. Secondly: has any Pope pretended to depose or otherwise to molest any of our sovereigns, under pretence that they were Protestants and persecutors of the Catholic Religion, since the reign of Elizabeth? No: and if a bull of deposition was issued against her, it was because she was illegitimate; because she was an apostate; because she was the murderer of her royal guest and sister: because she was a general pirate and firebrand among the sovereigns of Europe. Finally: this very bull was of no serious detriment even to her, as her Catholic subjects were universally faithful to her, and this with the consent of the Pope himself. Thirdly: have not the heads of the Reformation been in the habit of issuing bulls of deposition against their respective princes, for opposing their doctrine? have they not carried them into execution as far as they were able? Yes: for such was the conduct of Luther in Germany, of Calvin in France, of Zuinglius in Switzerland, of Knox in Scotland, and of Cranmer, and the other first

Protestants, bishops and clergy, as well as laity in England. In short, it is demonstrable that more sovereign princes were dispossessed of the whole or a part of their dominions by Protestants, within the first fifty years after their defection from the church, than were deposed by the pontiffs during the whole period of their temporal power. It might be expected that a due consideration of these well known facts would have prevented a Catholic writer at least, from being so prone to display and exaggerate the alleged abuses of the papal power, as our author always shews himself to be.

But to explain the nature and origin of the *indirect* temporal power which the Pope exercised throughout Christendom during several centuries: it is the law of nature and of the gospel that we should obey the constituted authority of the state under which we are placed, according to the laws of that state. Our Saviour, Christ, was obedient to the authority of the Roman Emperors, though this had been founded not many years before his birth, in manifest usurpation. Still this obedience has its limits, and men are not bound in conscience to submit to the capricious and sanguinary tyranny of a Nero, or a Heliogabalus, when they can disengage themselves from it. But who is to determine the impor-

tant and nice question when the duty of submission ceases, and the lawfulness of resistance begins? During a great part of the middle ages, and while the kingdoms and states of Europe were united in the same religion, and formed a sort of *Catholic Republic*, its different members, princes as well as people, agreed in referring this grand question to their common pastor and father, the Pope, and thereby concurred in bestowing a paramount temporal power upon him. Accordingly they were in the habit of applying to the Roman pontiff to settle their differences, to obtain redress for their respective wrongs, and, finally, to pronounce what princes or kings had been guilty of such excesses against their subjects, or against each other, or against the common bond of their community and principal interest, Religion, as to be unworthy and unfit any more to reign. In the comparatively happy ages here spoken of, when the Latin Christians at least, were nearly all of the same religious communion, and the contemporary heretics, such as the Albigenses, Turlupins, Lollards, and Hussites, were infamous for their immorality, impiety, murders, and devastations, it was conceived that a sovereign could not be guilty of a greater injustice towards his subjects than to separate himself, or to merit separation by the chief pastor from the communion of the faithful.

Hence the sentence of excommunication was considered as entailing that of deposition, and the former being in the hands of the Pope, he was understood to possess the power of inflicting the latter as a thing of course. Accordingly his *indirect temporal power* over princes was taught in all the schools throughout their dominions, on this side of the Alps as well as on the other, without opposition on their part; but it was taught *merely as a scholastic opinion, not as an article of faith.* Our Henry VIII. learnt this doctrine with his other theological lessons from his master, St. Thomas Aquinas, and even the capricious emperor Henry the IV. sometimes acknowledged it, and claimed the benefit of it from the holy Pope Gregory VII.

When that Catholic republic or confederacy was dissolved by the disorganizing doctrines of Luther and Calvin, the Protestant princes and states, of course, abjured the Pope's temporal, together with his spiritual power. In process of time, most of the Catholic princes and states successively renounced it. Hence the English Catholics have, of late years, abjured the opinion that "Princes excommunicated by the "Pope and council may be deposed or mur-"dered by their subjects, &c."* But what additional stability have princes acquired for

* Oath required by the Act of 1791.

their thrones, and what additional security have good subjects obtained for the public peace by the above-mentioned change? Instead of these being guaranteed to them by the wisdom, the honour, and the conscience of their head pastor, the first character in Christendom, they are now exposed to the folly and wickedness of every popular assemblage, and more or less of every individual in the country. When the lawyer of Lincoln's-Inn shall have digested the truths here suggested to him, it is presumed he will wish to withdraw the everlasting condemnation which he has pronounced against a canonized Pope,* the saviour of Christian Europe, for letting himself be "fascinated," and for "acting in direct opposition to the commands of Christ:" as likewise his censure against eight other holy pontiffs, the brightest ornaments of St. Peter's chair in their times,†

* Page 195.—Elizabeth having apostatized from the Catholic faith, in which she was baptized and educated, having broken her coronation oath, and proved herself to be the firebrand of Europe, and universal pirate, especially in Scotland, France, the Low Countries, Spain, the West Indies, and South America; Pope Pius V. thought it a duty he owed to the Church and its Princes to excommunicate her, which he did in the usual form; but he neither expected nor required, indeed as his conduct proved, that her Catholic subjects should rebel against her. The same was explicitly declared by his successor, Gregory XIII.

† Page 359.

for "publishing (what he calls) unhappy evil-"bearing briefs," and for being wanting in that "better spirit" which he ascribes to his present holiness. Thus much however he may rest assured of, that neither Pius VII. nor his advocates, will ever acknowledge him to be animated with a *better spirit* than St. Pius V. was; nor will he accept of any compliment whatever, at the expense of Gregory XIII., Urban VIII., and the other Popes whom Mr. B. so freely condemns. But to put an end, for the present, to this favourite subject of our author's declamation: it is hoped that, before he takes it up again, he will answer the following plain question: *Is the deposing doctrine on the score of religion, so impious and damnable in Catholics alone; or is it equally criminal in Protestants?*—If he answer, as I presume he will, that the two parties are upon a level in this respect, then let him withdraw, either his invectives against our ancestors, or his defence of the Revolution.

IMPUTATION ON THE MARTYRED PRIESTS.

It is true that the Memoir writer does not run the length which a friend and fellow-labourer of his does, who calls these holy martyrs, to whose labours and blood we are all, under God,

indebted for the true faith, "the victims of Roman ambition;" nevertheless he spends near forty pages of his work to prove that they were not good subjects, and he expressly charges them with giving "unsatisfactory — unfortunate and provoking answers,"* to the captious questions put to them by their enemies and rack-masters, concerning the deposing power, and other matters connected with that subject. On this head, it is to be observed, first, that the question of the deposing power which was generally treated of in other schools, was absolutely proscribed in those of the foreign seminaries, of our English missionaries, and that they were strictly commanded by Cardinal Allen and their other superiors never to treat of them in public or in private, upon their return to England.† This injunction not one of them is charged with having violated. Secondly, on their trials and at their execution, they universally acknowledged the apostate and persecuting Elizabeth to be their lawful Queen, as much as her predecessor Mary had been.‡ Thirdly, it is to be observed, that their ene-

* Page 236.

† Cardinal Allen's *Responsio ad Persecutores Anglos*, apud Bridgwater, fol. 323.

‡ See the genuine history of these martyrs, in Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, vol. i, page 86, &c.

mies had neither law nor justice on their side, in extorting answers from the martyrs on abstract questions, and complicated matters of fact and doctrine, which some of them had never inquired into, and none of them had given any occasion for, either by act or word. How, for example, could any of them on a sudden, amidst stretching racks and torturing hoops and needles, give a full and conscientious decision concerning the works of Dr. Bristow and Dr. Sanders, which probably they had never before seen? Again, how could they pronounce that the sentence of Pope Pius was unjust in itself, acting as he did, on behalf of the whole Church and of Christian Princes in general? It was sufficient that they themselves disclaimed obedience to it, and engaged to perform and did perform every duty of allegiance to their unnatural Sovereign, however excommunicated.—But be these matters as they may, our Catholic historian ought not to have hunted out,* and detailed the unfaithful relations of remorseless tyrants, which they put forth in extenuation of their guilt, in sending innocent and holy men to the gallows, and the butchery, for pretended plots that they knew them to be guiltless of,† in preference to the

* Page 211.

† Elizabeth's feed historian, Camden, speaking of these priests, executed for pretended plots, but whose only crime

original records which he himself testifies are authentic." * For example, in the declaration published by the persecutors,† F. Campion is made to *refuse* answering the question, "whether her Majestie be a true and lawful "Queene, and in possession of her crowne "onely *de facto*." ‡ Whereas in the genuine Memoirs, which he himself cites, the holy martyr says on his trial: "I acknow-"ledged, before the commissioners, her Majes-"ty, both *de facto et de jure*, to be my Queen:" and when interrogated under the gallows by Lord Charles Howard, "*what Queen he prayed for?*" F. Campion replied, "*For Elizabeth, your Queen and my Queen.*"§ Such an answer, made by the blessed martyr, in favour of a tygress, who was on the point of literally tearing out his bowels and his heart, whilst she was convinced of his innocence,‖ so far from being "*unsatisfactory and provoking*," expresses

was their religion, says: "Plerosque exmisillis his sacerdo-"tibus exitù in patriam conflandi conscios fuisse non credidit "Elizabetha."—Annal. Eliz. An. 1581.

* P. 184. † P. 211. ‡ P. 224.

§ Bridgw. Concert. Eccl. fol. 66. Mem. Miss. Pr. vol. i. p. 63. Butler's Hist. Mem. vol. i. p. 191.

‖ See the note above from Camden, who adds, that F. Campion and his companions were put to death in order to appease the popular fury, which had been excited by the report that the Queen was about to marry the Catholic Duke of Anjou.

the perfection of loyalty, and the heroism of Christianity.

THE POWDER PLOT.

Our Memoir writer's preference of bad heterodox materials, to good Catholic ones, is again proved in the choice he makes of the romancing Hume's account of this plot, which is highly injurious to the Catholics, and evidently false in many particulars, at the same time that he, (Mr. C. B.) acknowledges the most interesting part of this account to be *mere fiction*.* It has been the constant belief of Catholics, as likewise of many intelligent Protestants,† and has now been carried up to a pitch of moral evidence,‡ that the chief manager and promoter of this conspiracy, if not the original inventor of it, was Secretary Cecil, who had been inured, in the reign of Elizabeth, to the forging of false plots against the Catholics, and the invention of true ones [to serve as pitfalls for the rash and ill-disposed individuals among them] under the superior management of Leicester, Walsing-

* Note, page 279.

† See Lord Castlemain's *Catholique Apology*, p. 400, and his reply to the answer, p. 207. Bevil Higgon's Short View, p. 207. The Hon. P. Talbot's Politician's Catech. Dr. Challoner's Miss. Pr.

‡ Letters to a *Prcb.* Let. VII.

ham, and his father, Burgley.* A contrivance of this sort was necessary for him at the accession of James I., for turning the tables upon the Catholics, who had been the firm friends of the Queen of Scots and her son, as he himself had ever been their declared enemy. In these circumstances it was an easy matter to find some dozen or half dozen† mad, lawless youths of the *Catholic party*, [but not of the Catholic Religion] who, for the gratification of their resentment at the King's overlooking them, were capable of contriving and executing any mischief whatever; and it was equally easy, by means of a confidant, such as Tresham was to Cecil, to endeavour to envelope persons of greater consequence than themselves in their conspiracy. This was clearly the object of the letter to Lord Monteagle: a letter, which no reader of discernment ever believed to have been written by one who was anxious for the success of the ostensible plot. After the communication of this letter to Cecil,

* These practices are acknowledged to have been in frequent use by Elizabeth's ministers. Camden Annal: An. 1584, 1586. They were particularly resorted to in the carrying on of Babington's plot.

† Only sixteen conspirators are mentioned in the Act of Attainder: of these, three were totally innocent, and six were unacquainted with the worst part of the plot, namely, the intended explosion.

by that Catholic Nobleman, which was ten days before the meeting of Parliament, it is agreed on all hands, that the plot was completely in the power of the Secretary, however he concealed his knowledge of it from the conspirators, that "it might run to ripeness," according to his expression;* namely, that as many more persons as possible might be drawn into it, he concealed it from the King during the first five days, till he met with an opportunity of flattering the royal mind with its pretended sagacity in explaining the letter, and he concealed it from Parliament and the public, till within a few hours of the intended explosion of the gunpowder, in order to increase their horror and hatred of the devoted Catholics.—Unable to meet the strong arguments which our faithful advocates have adduced to vindicate us from the most odious charge ever brought against us, our modern Catholic barrister tries, at least, to invalidate them,† and

* Winwood's Memorials. Vol. II.

† P. 302. Our author says, that Osborn barely calls the *letter to Lord Monteagle*, not the *plot itself*, "a neat device of the secretary." But was not the letter a leading feature of the plot? and will any sensible man hesitate to pronounce that the author of the former was a conductor of the latter? The utmost Mr. B. allows is, "That it is *probable* "that he (Cecil) knew of it (the plot) before the seizure "of Fawkes;" namely, a few hours before the intended catastrophe!

appears, on the whole, to have taken a brief against us, rather than for us.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

The author of the *Historical Memoirs* introduces the present article with observing that, "The circumstances attending this oath form "one of the most interesting events in the "history of the English Catholics."* Nevertheless, in enumerating these circumstances, he omits to mention that which principally concerns him and his friends; namely, that this oath constitutes the platform, and, in a great measure, the substance of the condemned oath of 1789, in defence of which he wrote the *Blue Books*, and laboured indefatigably for the greater part of three years. This circumstance accounts for our author's strong partiality for King James's oath, and this partiality accounts for the many errors he has fallen into, of late, as well as heretofore, concerning it. What he published on this subject, in his *first Blue Book*, stands thus, "*He himself* "(King James I.) *drew up a test*, by which he "might discriminate the legal and conscien- "tious Catholic from the dangerous bigot, "who was actuated by fanatic zeal, or "driven from his duty by the predomi- "nance of foreign politics. He proposed an

* P. 303.

" oath of allegiance, and with *elaborate care* " and the *nicest exactness* separated spiritual " from temporal concerns."* In conformity with these assertions, he says, in his *Memoirs*, " Nothing, in the opinion of the writer, could " be *wiser or more humane* than the motives of " James in *framing the oath*."† It is repeated in both the letters which form the *first Blue Book*, that " this oath, this very oath, (con- " demned by Paul V.) with the exception that " it declares the deposing doctrine to be here- " tical, is, in substance, the same as the oath " of 1778, taken by the Vicars apostolic."‡ Agreeably with this doctrine of the *Blue Books*, their author repeatedly says, in his *Memoirs*, that the deposing power was " the *Petra* " *Scandali* among our ancestors, and the only " essential point on which they were really " divided."§

In opposition to the above-quoted assertions, it is the duty of the present writer to observe, first, that all Catholic writers, previously to the unfortunate Blue Book controversy, state that the persecuting Archbishop Bancroft, with the help of Sir Christopher Perkins, an apostate priest, (not King James) drew up the oath;‖

* Blue Book, p. 13. † P. 304.

‡ 1 Blue Book, p. 4. p. 14. § P. 310.

‖ Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, cited by Ant. Wood. Athen. (he died a Catholic) Lord Castlemain. Cath.

that some of these writers, besides being well informed, were contemporary with the event they speak of, and that our modern historian has neither argument or authority for his novel assertion. Secondly: the same credible authors concur in asserting, that the object of the framers of the oath, so far from being *wise* and *humane* was diabolically *malicious*, namely to cause a division among the Catholics, and to sharpen the sword of persecution against far the greater part of them.* In fact, these consequences soon followed the enactment of the oath.—But to look at the oath itself, had its object been public safety or private humanity, would its authors have loaded it with those "speculative points and false notions," which

Apol. Card. Bentivoglio, cited by Rev. C. Plowden, Dodd, B. Challoner, to whom may be added Osborne, in his Secret Hist.

* See the above-quoted writers. Among these Lord Castlemain, who was an eminent statesman, as well as a good Catholic, writes as follows: "'Tis the ill wording of "the Oath we scruple at: for it was framed by one Perkins, "an apostate Jesuit, who, knowing what we could, and "what we could not take, mingled several truths with seve-"ral speculative points, and, what is more, with false "notions, on purpose to make us fall within the law of re-"fusal." Cath. Apol. p. 98. See also the testimony of the contemporary and intelligent Cardinal Bentivoglio to the same effect, cited by the Rev. C. Plowden, in his answer to Panzani's Memoirs.

Lord Castlemain complains of in the note below? and would they not have satisfied themselves with exacting from the Catholics, *an engagement of fidelity to the king, even though the Pope should attempt to depose him?* —Thirdly, it is theologically certain, that in those times and countries, in which the deposition of a Prince was considered to follow, as of course a just and lawful excommunication, which was the case in most Catholic countries at the beginning of the 17th century, (though certainly this is not the case in our age and country), no orthodox Catholic could unconditionately swear that the chief Pastor had no indirect power of deposing Princes, in any case or country whatever, as for example in the feudatory states of Parma, Urbino, &c. An acquaintance with these maxims would have enabled our historian to understand certain points in the brief of Paul V, and the works of Bellarmin and other divines better than he appears to have done.—Fourthly, it is for want of an acquaintance with this science of theology, that our English Barrister makes so light, as he does, of swearing a position to be *heretical*, which no one man ever really believed to be such. On this head, he ought to be informed of what a celebrated Doctor of theology teaches, namely, that, " It is no less heresy " to maintain an article to be of faith, which

" is not so, than it is to deny an article to be " of faith which is really so."* Or instead of studying this divine, he may listen to what Lord Castlemain says on the subject, in plainer terms: " How can a man affirm, with an oath, that it " is *an heretical doctrine*, that, *excommunicated* " *princes may be deposed*, since it was never " declared by any Christian council, that it was " such ?"† The only defence of this qualifica-

* Joannes Major in iii. Sent. Dist. 37.

† Cath. Apol. p. 99.—What our martyred missionaries thought on this subject, appears by the following extract from Mr. Almond's examination by Dr. King, Bishop of London, in the reign of James I. at his commitment. Bishop: " Will you take the oath of allegiance ?"—Almond: " Any " oath, if it contain nothing but allegiance."—The Bishop then offering the common oath, Mr. Almond said: " That " oath, you cannot offer with a good conscience."—B. " I " have taken it myself seven times."—A. " Then you have " been seven times perjured."—B. " Wherein ?"—A. " In " taking this false clause: *I swear that I do from my heart* " *abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and HERETICAL* " *this damnable doctrine, and position*, that Princes excom- " municated or deprived by the *Pope may be deposed, &c.* " For if, *in taking it, you abjure that position as HERETI-* " *CAL, which is not heretical, then is it perjury to take it.*" See the whole interesting account of Mr. Almond's life and death in B. Challoner's Memoirs, Miss. Pr. vol. ii. p. 73. See also Dodd's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. This blessed martyr was one of those whom an intimate friend and associate of our historian terms: " Victims of Roman ambition, whose me- " mory might perish with their atonement to violated laws." Append to Layman's Second Letter, p 8.

tion (which equally occurs in the Committee oath and James's oath), set up by the Barrister, is found in the first Blue Book, as follows: "We beg to call your attention to the distinc- "tion in the schools between a *material* and *a* "*formal* heresy. A doctrine contrary to the "word of God, if not expressly condemned "as such by the Church, is said to be *materi-* "*ally heretical:* when it has been expressly "condemned as such by the Church, it is said "to be *formally heretical.*"* But who is the profound theologian, that thus ventures to anticipate a decision of the Church, and to pronounce, upon oath, *what she will find to be heretical!* If there is any man, who is authorized to do this, there will be no occasion for consulting the Holy See or calling together General Councils.—Much of what is said respecting the qualification of *Heretical,* may also be said respecting those of *Impious and Damnable,* which are equally applied in the oath to the deposing doctrine: now what Christian Catholic heart does not palpitate and faint at the idea of swearing, that St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bonaventure, and a thousand other saints or holy Doctors of the Church, lived and died *professing impious and damnable doctrine!*—Lastly, to consider the matter in a different light: "Who,

* 1 B. B. p. 7.

" says Lord Castlemain, can swear that the " Pope neither by himself, nor *by any other* " *means, with any other person,* can depose the " king, whereas the king of Swedeland may " lawfully depose the king of Danemark, if, " being injured by him, they fall out and he " conquer him? In like manner, may the king " of England justly serve the king of Spain, " or other enemy."* Again, after all the piracies and invasions which Elizabeth had practised against Philip II., could any Christian deny upon oath, that the Pope might authorize the latter to make reprisals upon her? Lord Castlemain likewise takes a just exception to the following clause in the oath: " And I do " believe, and in my conscience am resolved " that neither the Pope, nor *any other person* " *whatsoever,* hath power to absolve me of the " oath or any part of it."—" With what con- " science," argues his Lordship, " can this be " sworn, whereas *the king himself may do it,*" (by abdicating the crown, as Charles V., Queen Christina, and the king of Poland, had recently done). A more weighty objection against the lawfulness of the oath is this: the party, after being forced to swear that such and such *doctrines* are *impious, damnable,* and *heretical,* is re-

* Cath. Apol. See also the present writer's arguments on this subject, in Democracy Detected, p. 208, &c.

quired by the state to swear in its own favour thus: "Which oath I acknowledge *by good and "full authority* to be lawfully *ministered* to "me." What is this, but to call God to witness, that James and his Parliament had *good and full authority* to pronounce *what doctrines* are and are not *damnable and heretical?* The last clause requires the oath to be sworn, "plainly "and sincerely, according to the express words "of it;" whereas we shall soon see what scandalous quibbles and what perversion of language its advocates were forced to have recourse to, in excuse for their taking it.—The learned gentleman has now seen how much he has deceived himself, and many readers of his *Blue Books* and *Historical Memoirs,* in his imaginary triumph over P. Paul V., and six or eight of his Apostolic successors, as having *erred* in pronouncing, that king James's oath "contained many things contrary to faith and "salvation;" as well as over the Vicars Apostolic, in having, as he falsely asserts, "taken "this oath, this very oath;" namely, by taking the oath of 1778. In short, he has seen that the oath in question is as unlawful to be taken now, as it was in the year 1607, and that of course, it affords no sort of defence for the condemned oath of 1789, in favour of which he has published so many and such lengthened dissertations.

To make as short work as possible with the authorities that our author appeals to, in defence of the oath: the present writer will barely quote the words of the celebrated Dr. Kellison, respecting the two chiefs of them, with both of whom he was intimately acquainted: "It is "well known," says this fourth President of Douay College, "that Mr. Blackwell, whilst "he was at liberty, was so zealous for the "Pope's authority of deposing, that he thought "it a matter of faith. And Widdrington "knoweth, that he himself was zealous for this, "the Pope's authority; though, after his im-"prisonment, and his chief Pastor's Briefs, he "has altered his opinion. Let then the reader "judge of what authority the words of a fear-"ful old man, then a prisoner and straitly "examined, are; he having averred the con-"trary when at liberty. And Widdrington "himself, who before his imprisonment was so "zealous for the Pope's authority and against "the oath, hath now, perchance, not so much "altered his mind, as his tongue."*—With re-

* Right of Prelate and Prince. 2. Ed. p. 285.—That Dr. Kellison's opinion of F. Preston's (alias Widdrington's) real sentiments was well grounded, appears by his *Second Apology for the Oath.* In this, Preston teaches that, *though the king cannot depose an heretical prince himself, he may oblige the people to do it*:—that the clause which abjures the doctrine of *deposing* OR *murdering* excommunicated princes,

spect to the decision of certain Sorbonists, respecting the lawfulness of the oath, the present writer has elsewhere proved :*—1st. That an essential part of the oath was altered in the Latin version of it, which was presented to them for examination : 2dly. That only a part of the doctors, and those of the younger sort, thought proper to deliberate on the subject, the rest, and among them the six Divinity Professors, withdrawing themselves from the consultation : 3dly. That those young doctors who did consult together upon it, did not in reality give sentence in its favour : what they said was to this effect : *You may take the oath, provided you alter it : that is, provided you turn a disjunctive clause of it into a conjunctive one.* To conclude this whole matter : the Pope's nomination of Dr. William Bishop (who had drawn up and signed the Declaration against the deposing power), to be the first Catholic Bishop in England, and the death of the Priests Drury and Cadwallador, who had signed it, yet refused to save their lives by taking the oath, clearly demonstrate, in opposition to Mr. B., that the simple denial of this power was not considered, either at Rome or in England, as the *Petra Scandali,* or the worst part of it.

excludes nothing but the *liberty of choosing* between these two crimes, &c. See Dem. Detect. p. 220, &c.

* Divine Right of Episcopacy, p. 99, &c.

STEADY LOYALTY OF THE CATHOLIC BODY.

The second volume of *the Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics, &c.* opens with the reign of Charles I., in speaking of which, the historian could not fail to applaud the unrivalled loyalty of the calumniated and persecuted Catholics. On this subject he quotes, with commendation, a passage from the published letters of a living Catholic;* but he omits to mention a very important remark of the latter, namely, that these loyal subjects, who so freely spent their fortunes and their lives in defence of their king and country, were the same men who had refused to take the common oath of allegiance.† Such indeed have always been the principles and conduct of the great body of English Catholics; namely, to prove their loyalty by their conduct, rather than by vapouring professions of it, and by belying their Religion, which was the principle from which it flowed. On the other hand, there never has been wanting a small faction of politicians among them, who have laboured to pare this religion to the very core, under the false pretext of proving their loyalty, while in fact they cared for nothing but their own temporal interests. Whatever

* Hist. Mem. vol. ii. p. 15. † Letters to a Prebendary. Letter vii.

form of words is brought forward on behalf of the civil power, though false, and of the most fatal tendency with respect to their religion, these lax Catholics are sure to find out some pretext or other to cloak their malignity; and under that cloak, they fail not to cry out to their unsuspecting brethren, *Sign, sign;—swear, swear.*—But the hollowness of their boasted loyalty fails not to appear, when it becomes their interest to violate it.

The truth of the latter assertions is manifest, in the publications of a Reverend gentleman whom our historian extols,* and professes to follow in his account of most of the subsequent reigns.† He too is an ultra-royalist, and a stickler for James's oath of allegiance,‡ and for every formula of the same nature which has subsequently been brought forward: nevertheless, coming to speak of the usurpation of Cromwell, he roundly says, "I really think "that Catholics, as matters then stood, would "have done well to have joined the Protector, "had he given them certain assurances of sup-"port." He then lays down his principle of loyalty, where he says, "The government, "which is best inclined to give us protection, "has the only fair claim to our allegiance."§

* Memoirs of Panzani.—State and Behaviour of the Eng. Cath. by the Rev. J. B—n. † P. 53.

‡ Mem. Panz. p. 74. § Page 44. p. 45. See Edit.

The learned historian furnishes grounds, both in his *Blue Books* and in his *Memoirs*, too substantial for believing that he goes along with his Reverend guide in this accommodating system of loyalty. In fact, he blames the Catholic body for not signing, and the Pope for censuring what he calls *a new Declaration of allegiance*;* the obvious tendency of which was to allure the Catholics from their fidelity to their unfortunate king, then a prisoner to the rebels, and to transfer it to the usurped government, then † established, *or to be established in this nation, both in civil and political affairs.*‡ But the loyalty of the Edge-hill heroes, was not of that flexible nature as to be turned to Bradshaw, or Cromwell, or any other successful villain of the times; and we are still free to believe, that the conduct of the chief Pastors, in frequently censuring faulty instruments *In Globo*, without specifying the grounds of their censures, was *right*; though our Catholic lawyer peremptorily pronounces it *wrong*, and describes the

* Page 16. † Namely, in 1647.

‡ The historian suppresses in his Memoirs, for an obvious reason, the clause printed in Italics, though it is found in Walsh's original work, and even in his own Blue Books; Second B. B. p. 20 —The present writer has given elsewhere the true character of our historian's favourite author, the irreligious and excommunicated traitor, Father Peter Walsh. Democ. Detect. p. 236, &c.—Burnett calls Walsh, "The *honestest* Papist he ever knew, as being in all points "*nearly a Protestant.*" Hist. of his Own Times.

Popes themselves as deficient in *justice*, as well as humanity.*

Following the same rash guide, in his account of Charles the Second's reign, our author reprobates what he calls, "the perverse opposition of "some weak heads of the (Catholic) party to a "design of making a (legislative) distinction, "between those who, being of ancient extraction, "had continued of the same religion from father "to son, and those who had become proselytes "to the Catholic Church. In the new Bill, it was "intended to *provide against such changes of* "*religion*. The king had likewise resolved to "contract and lessen the number of priests— "*Moderate men*, says Mr. Berington, who de- "sired nothing but the exercise of their religion "in great secrecy, and a suspension of the "laws, were *cruelly disappointed*. From this "view, it may be justly inferred, that the "Catholics at this time were their own greatest "enemies."† Such were the sentiments of a Missionary Priest, bound by oath to labour in the conversion of erring souls, and such are now recommended by the historian of English Catholics to them!

Treating of "The dreadful something,"‡ as the historian calls Oates's plot, he proves himself to be the first *Catholic* writer, and the first

* Page 20. † Memoirs, pp. 29, 30. State and Behaviour, pp. 52, 53. ‡ Page 34.

respectable writer of any description to extenuate "the popular delusion," say rather the national bigotry and thirst of Catholic blood, which gave credit and effect to it. The defence set up in the Memoirs for the upright and betrayed James II., is generous, and does honour to its author:* still it is defective. This king acted against the Constitution, such as it was defined at the Revolution; not such as it had existed ever since the reign of Henry VIII.† And even had it been such as the author describes it, the judges by whom he caused the extent of his prerogative to be tried, and his ministers, who acted conformably with their decision, not the king himself, ought to have been punished.

PRINCIPLES OF CATHOLICS SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

Our historian continues to copy the words of his Reverend tutor, when he writes as follows: "As the Revolution, in the year 1688, took "place in opposition to James's wild projects "of introducing *popery*, the Catholics, it "should seem, had much to apprehend from "the event. But William was too good a "politician to be inclined to ways of violence "or persecution. Catholics, therefore, soon "*experienced the lenity of his government.*"‡—

* Page 47.

† See Hist. of Winchester, 2d, Edit. vol. i. p. 439. Lett. to Preb. Lett. vii.

‡ Vol. ii. pp. 52, 53.

It must be owned that this language is new to Catholics, and notwithstanding the authority of these gentlemen, we may be allowed to ask where the instances of this alleged *lenity* of William are to be met with ? Is it in the massacre of the men of Glencoe, executed by an order under his own hand ? Is it in the infraction of the treaty of Limerick and the consequent misery of Irish Catholics, down to the present time ? Is it in the act for expelling all Catholics out of London, for seizing their horses and arms, and imprisoning their priests for life, with the bribe of £100. to every informer who should betray one of them.* If this be *lenity*, we may ask what is *cruelty ?* The good sense of the historian caused him to suppress one extravagance of his Reverend tutor, respecting Queen Anne's reign,† but

* The Rev. Mat. Atkinson O. S. F. became a victim of this law, being sentenced in 1699 to perpetual imprisonment, in the dreary castle of Hurst, where he remained a prisoner during the remaining 30 years of his life.

† The extravagance alluded to is the following: " At " this time a Catholic, with Sacheverel's sermon in his hand, " might have preached all the doctrines of Rome, at Charing " Cross."—So far from being allowed to preach the Catholic Religion at Charing Cross, English Catholics were in some instances restrained from practising it, through ministerial influence, on the continent. Six young ladies, (one of them of the Bishop family), having landed at Ostend to enter into a convent, they were detained prisoners for several months

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not an inconsistency of principle which the latter falls into in speaking of the reign of George I. In short, though they represent the Catholics of that period as conscientiously devoted to the cause of the Stuarts, which they certainly were, yet they agree in charging them, "laity "as well as clergy with narrowness of mind," in not acceding to the proposal of Dr. Strickland, to purchase some relaxation of the penal laws by swearing allegiance to the reigning king.* Had their principle of loyalty been that described above, namely, their own interest, they would indeed have been *narrow minded* in rejecting the proposal; but, as this never was the principle of our religious forefathers, and as their oaths and their hearts were always in unison with each other, their refusing the oath was the proof of *enlarged and noble minds.*

The ill success of the Stuarts in their attempts under both George I. and George II. not only convinced the Catholics that their cause was hopeless, but also obliged the poor remnant of that hapless family, Prince Charles, silently to relinquish his claim. On the other

by the Queen's agent at that port, and afterwards forcibly shipped off for England in stormy weather, when the vessel was wrecked at the mouth of the harbour, and they all perished.

* Page 59.

hand, his late Majesty being acknowledged King by all the world except the British Catholics and a few Protestant non-jurors, and this sovereign proving himself to be a kind father to them, no less than to his other subjects (especially in his screening them through his ministers and judges from a most malicious and active persecution, set on foot against them during the year 1766 and the following years, by some powerful enemies, but in which a mechanic, one Paine, was the ostensible agent), the Catholics one and all, clergy and laity, gave their entire allegiance to him and his successors; an allegiance the more valuable, as it was grounded on principle, and had been proved to be of standard quality under another dynasty. In return, they were sometime after, permitted to present a loyal address to the throne, which was graciously received. This was followed by an Act of Parliament, repealing the penal laws that most aggrieved them, being precisely those which had been imposed by the pretended *lenity* of King William. This remarkable event took place in the year 1778, and, what rendered it more remarkable, it took place without opposition in Parliament, or dissention among the Catholics themselves. The latter circumstance was chiefly owing to the proper conduct of the Catholic leaders, in timely submitting the religious part of the bill

to the judgment of their prelates, and to the religious, honourable, and straightforward conduct of William Sheldon, Esq. a gentleman of ancient family, who acted as secretary on the occasion. One passage of the learned historian requires severe animadversion: he describes our modern prelates as being animated with "a "better spirit" than their predecessors were: a compliment which they will disclaim with disgust: and he pronounces that "ultra-catho-"licism is one of the worst enemies of catho-"licity."* There is reason to believe, from what has gone before and what will follow, that what the learned gentleman is pleased to term *Ultra-catholicity*, is genuine *Catholicism*: at all events, who are to pronounce in this all-important matter! Are they, the lawyers of our Inns of Court! Or are they, the Bishops and Pontiffs of the Catholic Church!

CONSEQUENCES OF THE LEGAL RELIEF.

It is the remark of ecclesiastical writers that the termination of the Pagan persecutions, by the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, and his laws for the protection of Christianity, were the era of the relaxation of Christian fervour, and the signal of a new and more violent

* Page 85.

assault on the faith of the Church by the most impious heresies. This was, in some measure, the case with the English Catholics on the blunting of the penal laws about the beginning of his late Majesty's reign, and still more manifestly by the subsequent repeal of different parts of them. Then it was that our people, who had been so rigid in their faith, so respectful to their clergy, so pure in their morals, and so fearful of the infection of the world, while the sword of persecution hung over their heads, on this being withdrawn, became, at least, many of them, and especially those of the higher orders, lax in their belief, neglectful of their religious duties, disdainful of the priesthood, immoral and worldly in the general tenor of their lives. Several of them, at different periods even apostatized from their religion;* and others who did not run this length, took such liberties with its doctrine, its discipline, and its authority, as demonstrated that either they had never learnt their religion, or that they equally disregarded its threats and its promises. Then it was that laymen took upon themselves to dictate professions of faith to

* About this time fell from the Catholic faith, the Lords Gage, Fauconberg, Teynham, Montague, Nugent, Kingsland, Dunsany, their Graces of Gordon, Norfolk, &c. the Baronets Tancred, Gascoign, Swinburn, Blake, &c. the priests Billinge, Warton, Hawkins, Lewis, Dords, &c.

their bishops,* and to correct their Catechisms,† and even to call upon the Apostolic See to abrogate the celibacy of their clergy. Nor was this all, but, to prove what they called their *liberality,* they even presented Protestant churches with communion cups and dishes.‡ The same mock liberality, in compliment to their patrons, but with far heavier guilt, was affected by some of the priesthood. One of them published as follows, " many things in " the Catholic belief weigh rather heavy on my " mind, and I should be glad to have a freer " field to range in ; "§ and being invited to preach at the meeting-house of Socinian dissenters, he excused himself on the sole grounds of the novelty " of the proposal—and that his " complying with it would give offence to the " society of which he is a member," adding, " I would not willingly shock the *prejudices* of " others, unless, by that shock, *I might rea-* " *sonably hope to surmount them.* The temper " of the times likewise must be weighed, lest

* See B. James Talbot's letter below.

† A certain layman of title condemned Bishop Challoner's most excellent *Rule of Christian Life,* at the end of his Catechism, and actually suppressed it in a new edition of it, which he gave for this purpose.

‡ This fact was communicated to the writer by the great man's chaplain, who was charged with drawing up the letter to Rome.

§ Reflections addressed to J. Hawkins, page 56.

" by precipitance, we rather *check than encou-*
" *rage* that happy tendency to benevolent and
" generous sentiments, which *rapidly advances*
" *among those of my persuasion.*—We differ, it
" is true, in points to which men, I think,
" *have given an undue weight.*"* The chief of these, it is to be observed, are the doctrines of the Blessed Trinity and the Divinity of Jesus Christ!—Another priest, and he protected and pensioned by the leading Catholics, set at open defiance, not only the doctrine and authority of the Catholic Church, but also the fundamental maxim of all Christians respecting the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, which, at the same time, he undertook to translate and to mend. The sequel of the present work will furnish too many proofs of the continuation of this worldly spirit in several Catholics; but particularly in their secretary and director, with some of his lay associates and clergymen.

FORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC COMMITTEE.

Our learned historian, in speaking of this eventful circumstance, says, it took place on May 3, 1787:† whereas an original paper

* Dr. Priestley published the whole correspondence in the Preface to his *Discourse on the Resurrection of Jesus.*

† Page 100.

dated "May 24, 1783," and signed under the hands of the five persons, chosen at the first mentioned date, now lies before the present writer, in which they declare themselves to be at that time, "the Committee appointed to "manage the public affairs of the Catholics "in this Kingdom." Why is the prior existence of the Committee so called, concealed from the public? Was it from the historian's ignorance of the fact?—But he himself acted as secretary to the first junta, and was complimented by it with a piece of plate of the value of £50., and £20. to his clerk for his services rendered to it—was it because this pretended Committee of the Catholics had no commission whatever from any one except themselves? Or was it because they did nothing in our affairs of sufficient consequence to be mentioned? But, unfortunately, the writer has in his hands pregnant proofs to the contrary:—and here properly begins that system of lay-interference and domination in the ecclesiastical affairs of English Catholics, which, under the direction of the secretary alluded to, has perpetuated disorder, divisions, and irreligion, among too many of them for near the last forty years.

The paper in question contains a series of assertions, highly derogatory to the spiritual government of the Vicars Apostolic, which rest

entrely on the authority of those few laymen and on the theological learning of their juridical secretary. These assertions are accompanied with an offer of theirs (the laymen), "to "aid and support in taking such measures as "may be effectual to constitute them (the V. V. "A.) with full power of ordinaries; in order "that the frequent recurrence to Rome for dis- "pensations, and other ecclesiastical matters, "might cease." There is no doubt but the recurrence to Rome each time a new Bishop was to be made constituted the first head of our five laymen's projected retrenchment. They may be excused from the intention of schism, by their ignorance of theological matters: but how daringly presumptuous must their scribes and advisers have been! The same may be said of a printed letter of the same committee, so called, which is dated London, April 10, 1787, and addressed to the Catholics of England. In this they complain that: "They are "governed, not by Diocesan Bishops,* but by "superiors, commissioned from Rome,—who "are appointed by the court of Rome, *without* "*any election of the clergy or the laity.*—But "(say they) we beg leave to observe that the "ecclesiastical government by V. V. A. is by

* The Apostles themselves were not, in general, Diocesan Bishops.

" no means essential to our religion, and that " it is not only *contrary to the primitive practice* " *of the church,** but is in direct opposition to " the Statute of *Præmunire and Provisors:* " and when you reflect that *it is the duty of* " *Christians to make the discipline of their* " *Church* to conform as near as may be to the " laws of their country, your committee doubt " not but you will concur with them in think- " ing that it is incumbent on us to use our " endeavours to procure the nomination of " Bishops in ordinary. Your committee think " it would be useless to point out the advan- " tages which would result from having pastors " thus chosen by the flock they are to teach " and direct, and *in conjunction with which they* " *would be competent to regulate every part of* " *our national Church discipline.*"—This letter (though it bears intrinsic evidence of the pen that wrote it) might certainly pass for a speech of Mirabeau, in the French National Assembly, particularly where it insinuates that the people have an equal authority with their pastors *in regulating every part of church-discipline,* and that they are competent to make whatever

* The Bishops Fugatius and Duvianus, sent into this Island by Pope Eleutherius, as likewise St. Augustine, Paulinus, &c. sent afterwards by Pope St. Gregory, to convert and govern it, were all Vicars Apostolic, till regular dioceses were canonically erected.

changes they please, in conformity with the laws of the State, without either Pope or Council; yet it is seen by its date to have preceded that schismatical and impious Assembly by the space of two years.

It is not to be supposed the V. V. A. of that period looked with indifference on these projected invasions of their own and the chief pastor's just authority, and on the fatal precipice to the brink of which a precious portion of their flock had been led blindfolded by blind guides. This appears by their letters to each other, while the attempts were making, many of which letters are still remaining. The following extracts are taken from letters of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Bishop James Talbot to his brother Bishop Thomas Talbot, under date of Feb. 1, 1786. Speaking of an alteration which he had made, the preceding year, in the regulations for Lent, he says: "I do not think that the "same change will happen this year, unless I "was disposed to follow implicitly the direc- "tions of our committee in that matter, more "than in *subscribing a doctrinal test, chosen by* "*them.* If such a test is necessary, they should "have told us why, and *asked the thing of us,* "instead of *chusing for us.* Hence I have "declined subscribing theirs, and sent them "one, which I think is better and more likely "to be accepted, as coming through the pro-

" per channel, *viz.* my predecessor (Bishop " Challoner), who published it about the time " of the Act in our favour. (1778.) As to the " other, the late publisher (Mr. Joseph B——n) " has much altered it. Mr. Th——n wishes " for other alterations; people here for more; " so that, on these and other accounts, it must, " I think, undergo a thorough revision, before " we can allow it to be a standard of our belief; " and thus much I have signified to the com- " mittee-man. What will be the event I know " not, but this I know, that *some there are who* " *want to put us* (Bishops) *in leading strings,* " *and themselves to hold them.*" The prelate then speaks of the sentiments of Bishop Mathew Gibson as agreeing with his own. He then mentions certain changes proposed to be made in the Ritual, on which he sarcastically remarks, " But sure we (Bishops) forget ourselves, or " we should have applied to the committee, " who have just as much business with Rituals as " they have with doctrinal tests and scriptures." The *doctrinal test* here spoken of is the ever-varying *Exposition of Catholic Principles with reference to God and the Country,* which the Rev. Joseph B——n had a little before re-published, though with great alterations, from a collection of old anonymous tracts, in his *Reflections addressed to J. Hawkins.** Had it not

* See Appendix A.

been for the decided opposition of the above-named and other Bishops, one of whom was the learned Scotch Bishop, Dr. Hay, whose letter on the subject is preserved, there can be no doubt but that this faulty *Exposition* would have been chosen by the lay theologians of the committee, instead of what is called *The Protestation,* as the test of Catholic religious and civil principles. In a subsequent letter, dated March 22, 1788, from the same Rt. Rev. and Honourable personage, to his brother, the Bishop, giving an account of the Meeting, which had just taken place at the Thatched House, in order to address the King, and of the Catholics who attended it, Bishop James says, " But the " Church is excluded, and therefore, I have " never been summoned; though I had some " title, as a gentleman, and could have given " some useful information relative to an appli- " cation lately made us."—After all, it is not at all surprising that the brother of the first English Earl should not be allowed a voice in the concerns of the religion of which he was a Bishop, as a leading member of the Committee had publicly declared, that *if any clergymen were admitted into it he would withdraw himself from it.*—However, when the above-mentioned declaration was made it was not foreseen that the assistance of the clergy would be requisite to get a public instrument, which was soon

afterwards brought forward, generally signed by the Catholics. Accordingly at a lay-meeting, held May 15, 1788, it was resolved, that three clergymen should be added to the Board, as *Representatives of the Clergy*. The latter, however, were not permitted to choose their own Representatives, but the lay members chose for them, *namely*, the Rt. Rev. Coadjutor Bishop, Charles Berington, and the Rev. Joseph Wilkes, men who had gone along with them in all their past measures, to whom they added the Rt. Rev. Bishop, James Talbot, because they could not pass him by, and hoped to hoodwink him.*

* As the learned historian has in different passages of his Blue Books and Memoirs, represented the truly Apostolic Bishop, James Talbot, as countenancing the proceedings of the Committee, the present writer, who was intimately connected with him, feels it his duty to shew that the contrary was the case. In proof of this, he refers, 1st to the letters quoted above, which may be seen by any person of honour. 2dly. It is a fact, that when the writer had drawn up a paper, shewing the schismatical tendency of the Committee's printed letter, the Bishop made him suppress it, because he admitted the utility of having a Committee. When afterwards the Bishop was chosen a member, he assured the writer, that he had accepted of the nomination for the sole purpose of restraining the others, and that he had prepared a formal protest against them. Lastly, when he was on his death-bed, he told his spiritual friend, the Rev. Mr. Lindow, that if he recovered, he would write against the Committee.

THE PROTESTATION.

This instrument so loudly and so frequently extolled in the Blue Books and the *Historical Memoirs,* is in the latter work expressly attributed to the pen of the late Lord Stanhope, who is there stated to have "framed it with "long consideration, and after having perused "the works of some of the best Catholic "writers."* The present writer is satisfied that his Lordship *patronized* the Protestation; but that he *composed* it, he can no more believe, than that he wrote the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas of Aquin. But, be this matter as it may, the instrument is drawn up in ungrammatical language, with inconclusive reasoning and erroneous theology. Its worst feature, however, is that it is expressly contrived for the purposes of a twofold deception, the one on Protestants, the other on Catholics. Our historian speaks of some communications between the V. V. A. and the Committee on the subject of this instrument, "in consequence of which, "some alterations were made in it,"† without giving any insight into the nature of that communication. Writing, however, to those personages themselves in his *Red Book,* he acknowledges that, "*All of them,* at first, made

* Vol. ii. page 112. † Ibid.

"*some difficulties* to the signing of it."* The circumstance of ALL THE V.V. A. objecting to the Protestation at the first sight of it, certainly forms a strong prejudice against its orthodoxy, or at least its accuracy, and leads the reader to believe that, if it was afterwards signed by them, it was under the cover of glosses and salvos.† The Catholic clergy throughout England, in general, felt the same repugnance to sign the Protestation that their superiors did; but what with the explanations, assurances, and promises of the different agents of the Committee, clerical as well as laical, who were employed in the Metropolis, and sent throughout the country for this purpose, at a great expence, they themselves, as well as their flocks were mostly induced to subscribe it. The theological inaccuracy of the instrument, was generally admitted

* Folio 14. The *Red Book* is so called, because it is bound in red morocco. It is a MS. work in folio, signed with the name and in the hand writing of its author, Mr. Charles Butler. Its contents are much the same with those of the first Blue Book; however they differ from each other in some particulars.

† Bishop Walmsley complained, that he was surprized into the signature and withdrew it. Bishop Matthew Gibson gave directions, that if his name were absolutely necessary, it should be affixed, "*In sensu Catholico.*" Dr. William Gibson did not sign his name at all. B. J. Talbot's vicar, Mr. Barnard reproached Dr. C. Berington with having *forced* him to sign.

by these agents, but they contended, that Protestants were not sensible of these, and therefore, that the latter would not be deceived by the subscribers. The argument, however, which was most effectual with many conscientious Catholics, was *the positive assurance given them* by some very respectable and well informed persons, *that the Protestation would not be followed by any new oath.*

It would occupy too much time and paper to discuss all the errors and inaccuracies of this boasted instrument: but it seems proper to point out one or two of them, by way of a sample.—One vulgar accusation against Catholics, which the Protestation disclaims, is that, "The "Pope can dispense with the obligation of any "compact or oath taken or entered into by a "Catholic, and that, therefore, no oath of alle- "giance or other oath can bind us."—Now in what manner is this accusation repelled in the Protestation?—Instead of simply denying that the Pope can dispense with our *oath of allegiance,* or any other *compact between man and man;* which was all that the occasion required, and which no Catholic would have hesitated to swear, we were called upon in the words of the instrument to protest that, "Neither the Pope, "nor any Prelate, nor any Priest, &c., can "absolve us, or any of us from, or dispense "with the obligation of *any compact* or *oath*

"*whatsoever.*"* This is protesting more than is strictly true; for the Pope and other Prelates can dispense with the obligation of a *rash oath,* which is *merely of a religious nature,* (such as that of immoderate fasting or prayer), and every Priest as well as every other man can dispense with a compact (such as that of giving him a sum of money), which is merely in his own favour. In vain, however, did we plead for a small alteration in the wording of this passage, in order to reconcile it with theological accuracy: again in vain did we beg that the word *Mere* might be prefixed to the word *Will,* in the proposition which denies that "any sin whatever "can be forgiven *at the will of any Priest;*" barely to express that the consent of the Priest to administer baptism, for example, is a condition for the forgiveness of original sin, in infants: the patrons of the Protestation laughed at our arguments, and told us, that we must either sign the denial of the charges against us, as they stand in the Protestation, or sit down quiet under the imputation of them.

* For the original text of the Protestation, see the printed sheet circulated throughout England in 1789, and certified by Mr. Butler to be correct: as also Lord Petre's publication of it, in his pamphlet against Dr. Horsley; for the altered copy of it, see the parchment in the Museum, the Appendix to the 3rd Blue Book, and that to Hist. Mem.

FORMATION OF A NEW OATH.

The Historian tells us that: "Soon after the "Protestation and its signature became known, "the proposal of a new oath was made to the "Committee, and that far from promoting, "they were at first backward in acceding to the "proposal."* When the learned gentleman wrote this in 1819, he certainly forgot what he had written to the V. V. A. in 1790, in his Red Book, concerning the urgent reasons there were for "closing with the adversaries of the Catho- "lics, and trying the cause on their own ad- "mission." These, he says, induced the Committee "to *adopt the form of an oath*, in which "the Catholics renounce such of the doctrines "imputed to them, as are morally or politically "evil."† He equally admits in the same work, what their official advocate, Mr. Mitford, (now Lord Redesdale), proclaimed in Parliament that these Catholics had *assumed the name of* PROTESTING CATHOLIC DISSENTERS. And he further states, in the Red Book, what is kept out of sight in the Blue Books, that the Bill ("new modelled, after the Protestation "had been signed, which Bill contained the "new oath and description) was shewn to the "first Ecclesiastical Dignitary, (the Arch- "bishop of Canterbury), the first minister, and

* P. 119. † Folio 13.

" the first law officer. *All* of whom suggested " *some alterations. These* were accordingly " *made;* and thus *altered,* the heads of it were " mentioned in Parliament,"* by Mr. Mitford. They were also published at full length in Woodfall's Register of June 26th, 1789, and other papers.—In the mean time, (will it be believed by Catholics in distant times and places!) this oath containing a *new Profession of Faith* and a *new name,* for the *unchangeable* one of Catholics was never once communicated by the Committee to the V. V. A.! It was shewn to the Head Protestant Bishop, and altered at his suggestion, but the Catholic Bishops were left to learn its contents from a Newspaper! The truth is, it was easy to gather from their objections to the Protestation, that they never would consent to the oath.

But though the first order of Pastors were not consulted, some of the second order were, that is to say, an attempt was made to form a party among the latter. For this purpose several leading clergymen of the Metropolis were invited by Mr. Secretary to a dinner at the Portland Tavern, where, among plates and glasses, he produced a copy of the new oath, and even called upon the company to sign a declaration that *the oath contained nothing but what is contained in the Protestation.* However, this

* Red Book, fol. 5.

insidious and irreligious attempt was defeated by the piety and firmness of the venerable Dean Lindow, who protested against signing any declaration regarding religion in a tavern and over wine.

That the oath contains nothing as to its sense, but what is in the Protestation, is constantly asserted in the Blue Books and other writings of the Secretary and his partisans. The falsehood of this assertion is evident, on comparing them together. For example: is the deposing doctrine qualified in the Protestation, *Impious,—Heretical,* and *Damnable,*— as it is in the Committee oath,* no less than in king James's oath? Does the Protestation deny that any foreign Prelate has any *spiritual* jurisdiction in this realm, that can directly or indirectly interfere with its laws, (such as Acts of divorce), or with its *ecclesiastical government,* in the manner that this is abjured in the oath? It may be added, with respect to the errors, in general, of the instruments, that conscientious Catholics made a great difference between a declaration made to their fellow creatures, and an Oath made to God. Being deluded to believe that all the

* So the oath stands in the Appendix to the first Blue Book, Woodfall's Register, and the Bill itself, as drawn up by Mr. Butler and introduced into Parliament by Mr. Mitford; two years afterwards, these epithets were given up by the Board, but this amendentm was not sufficient.

first characters in the nation understood certain expressions, as the Secretary explained them ;* they thought at first, that it was lawful to *subscribe them:* but when the question was about *swearing to the truth of* them, "*in the plain* "*sense of the words,*" their consciences revolted at the proposal.

Finally, it is most certain that no Catholic, unconnected with the Committee, whether clergyman or layman, entertained an idea that by signing the Protestation, he obscured one of the marks of his religion, the pure unmixed name of CATHOLIC, and became a PROTESTANT DISSENTER. This doctrine, however, is stiffly maintained both in the Red Book and the Blue Books,† no less than in Mr. Mitford's speeches, and in the head of the

* Such declarations, as the following, which occur in the first Blue Book, p. 6. were constantly in the mouths of the advocates of the two instruments: "We have had repeated "conversations on this subject (the Pope's spiritual power) "with the first men in the kingdom; men whose lives are "spent in attending to great legislative questions, &c.; from "men of this description the people of England are ac- "customed to derive their notions both of words and "things: now we have not found a man of this description "who does not understand, and reason on the expression, "(namely that the Pope's *spiritual power* means his *tempo-* "*ral power*), in the manner we speak of."—The utter falsehood of these pompous assurances was shortly after proved by the Bishop's agents, but, for a time, they deceived many.

† R. B. fol. 7. 1. B. B. p. 2.

bill itself. The latter was so contrived that no Catholic could have availed himself of it, without subscribing in a court of justice as follows: "I, A. B., do hereby declare "myself to be a Protesting Catholic Dis- "senter."*—How strongly bent the Secretary and his Committee friends were on the legal metamorphosis, by which *Catholics* were to be turned into *Protestant Dissenters*, appears from the following passages in the first Blue Book.† "The prominent feature of the Pro- "testation and the oath, is their introducing to "the notice of our laws, and that in a very "marked and pointed manner, a description of "persons, wholly unknown to them before; "*The Protesting Catholic Dissenters*; on the

* In the first stage of the Bill the learned Secretary used to entertain his friends with the following dialogue, which had passed between a rigid Peer and Chancellor Thurlow.—Peer. "You must take care, my lord, that these people "are not allowed by the Act to call themselves *Catholics*." —Chancellor. "Why not?"—Peer. "Because *we are the* "*Catholics*."—Chan. "I thought you had been *Protes-* "*tants*."—Peer. "Why so we are, but we are at the same "time Catholics."—Chan. "This surpasses my understand- "ing."—Who could have imagined that the learned gentleman would so soon have adopted the absurdity which he had ridiculed!

† N. B. One of the clauses of the Committee's original Bill provides against the child of any *Protestant Catholic* being educated a *Papist*.

"propriety of its description and its peculiar "efficacy the merit of the plan adopted by us "principally rests." The learned Secretary then argues, at great length, on the propriety of Catholics adopting this misnomer. What he says to them is briefly this: "you *protest* "against certain charges brought against you; "therefore you are *Protestants!* and you *Dis-* "*sent* from the established Church, therefore "you are *Dissenters!*" In the last place, our author sets forth "the probable efficacy of the "adopted plan:" this, he says, would be: "to "slip from under the operation of the penal "laws, unheeded and unobserved."* It is in this instance, that the double deceit mentioned above, is most apparent. Attempts are made to deceive a Protestant legislature into concessions which it did not intend to make; and the Catholic body to profess tenets which they do not hold! The plan, however, failed in both its parts, to the great confusion of the most honourable personages, rather than of its inventor; and thereby transferred the fate of the Bill into the proper hands, those of the V. V. A.

CONDEMNATION OF THE OATH.

After various communications with each other on the state and prospects of the Catholic reli-

* 1. B. B. p. 4.

gion in this country, the four truly venerable Apostolic Vicars, Bishop Walmesley, B. James Talbot, B. Thomas Talbot, and B. Mathew Gibson, met together at Hammersmith, October 19, 1789. There were also present the two coadjutor Bishops, Dr. William Sharrock and Dr. Charles Berington, as also the Rev. Robt. Bannister, S. T. P. and the present writer. In this synod eight resolutions were passed by the four V. V. A.* ; the original of which, under their respective hands, lies before the writer The main substance of them is contained in the following " Encyclical Letter addressed to " all the faithful of the four Districts," which, two days afterwards those four V. V. A. signed.

" Dearly beloved Brethren and Children in
" Christ.

" We think it necessary to notify to you, " that, having held a meeting on the 19th of

* It is remarkable that the coadjutor, Dr. Charles Berington, *approved* of the Resolutions, though he was not called upon to sign them. Returning, however, to London, and associating with his former friends of the Committee, he soon after revoked his approbation. It is due to the orthodoxy and courage of the present Vic. Ap. of the North, Dr. William Gibson, then President of Douay College, to record that he was among the most vigorous opponents of the oath, especially at the meeting of June 6, 1790, the minutes of which are in the writer's hands.—He never signed the Protestation.

" October 1789, after mature deliberation and " previous discussions, we unanimously con- " demned the new form of an oath intended for " the Catholics, published in Woodfall's Re- " gister, June 26, 1789, and declared it unlaw- " ful to be taken. We also declared that none " of the faithful, clergy or laity, under our care, " ought to take any oath, or subscribe to any " new instrument, wherein the interests of reli- " gion are concerned, without the previous ap- " probation of their respective Bishops. These " determinations we judged necessary, to the " promoting of your spiritual welfare, to fix an " anchor for you to hold to, and to restore peace " to your minds. To these determinations, " therefore, we require your submission.

" ✠ Charles Ramaten, V.A.
" ✠ James Birthan, V.A.
" ✠ Thomas Acon, V.A.
" ✠ Mat. Coman, V.A."

" *Hammersmith, Oct.* 21, 1789."

Thus, through the mercy of God, and the vigilance and firmness of these truly Apostolic Prelates, were schism and heresy detected and repressed among English Catholics at their first appearance. In fact, the avowed *prominent feature* of the bill, the novel and inconsistent title of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters* was itself an *ensign of schism;* and among the nu-

merous errors of their distinguishing symbol, the oath; some there were either directly or indirectly *heretical.*

The above quoted decision of our V. V. A. which fixed the faith and conduct of their flocks, in general, was echoed back to them in accents of applause from the prelates of Scotland and Ireland, as likewise from the Holy See.* Still, it is to be lamented, that it did not produce its intended effect upon the small but respectable members of the Committee, and that their learned Secretary, in particular, should have so far forgotten the pious example of his nearest relatives and the virtuous lessons of his enlightened tutor,† as to misemploy his

* In a letter to the prelates, dated Jan. 26, 1790, the truly eminent Prefect of the Propaganda, writing to the Prelates, says of the oath: "Formula juramenti non erat *fidei* "ac Patrum regulis *consentanea.*" Writing at a subsequent time in commendation of the second Encyclical Letter of the V. V. A. as well as the first, as also of their Pastoral Letter of Dec. 26, 1792, in condemnation of *the Layman's Letters, &c.* the Cardinal says: "Jam probe novit "Sanctitas sua sedulam vestram operam quam abhinc bien- "nium impendistis iis Encyclisis literis in lucem editis, ac "salutari doctrinâ refertis, quibus late pervagantia adver- "sus Apostolicam Sedem *errorum monstra,* valide in sec- "tanda ac profliganda curastis, ne greges custodiæ vestræ "concredite aliorum scabie ac contagione misere corrum- "perentur."

† The distinguished Professor of Divinity and Spiritual Director of the Pontifical Seminary of Douay. On the occasion, here spoken of, he withdrew his former confidence

talents in writing an appeal from the judgment of the Bishops to the opinion of the people, as also an Address to the four Bishops themselves, in which they and the Holy See are grossly insulted and calumniated. Both these letters are dated Nov. 25, 1789. They bear the names of the two ecclesiastical members, and of five lay members of the Committee, and they form, what is called the first Blue Book.

DEATH OF TWO VICARS APOSTOLIC.

Within a few months after the synod of Hammersmith, it pleased Almighty God to *render the crown of glory, laid up for them,* to two of its venerable heads, the V. V. A. of the North and the South. This event revived the spirits of the Catholic Dissenters, who now depended upon carrying their Bill, including the condemned oath, together with those "regula-" tions of our national discipline," which they had been so long intent upon making, if they could but get Bishops to their mind for the two

from the Secretary, as did pious Catholics in general. One of them, a V. A., printed a hand-bill, now before the writer, in which he terms him "a Lay Vicar General,"—who "mo-" destly requests that *Ecclesiastical Assemblies in the North* " *will not come to any Resolutions till he shall have the ho-*" *nour of attending them!*"

vacant districts, or even, if they could only raise the coadjutor Bishop of the Middle District [who had been a member of the Committee for two years, and had unhappily given into all its measures] to the mitre of the London District. To effect this, numerous meetings were held, especially in the metropolis, cabals formed among the clergy as well as the laity, ambassadors and ministers of state canvassed, and attempts made to intimidate as well as to deceive Rome. The means, however, most relied upon, were the publications, which were then put forth and gratuitously distributed, to persuade the clergy and people that they had a natural and divine right to choose and appoint their own bishops (as the French schismatics were doing, at that very time, in their own country), and to get them consecrated by any man in episcopal orders, who could be induced to lend his ministry for this purpose, without any intervention of the Pope whatever. One leading member of the Committee, in particular, our secretary's chief confident, was most strenuous and indefatigable in this cause of schism. He published three several works in support of it, during the vacancy of the Districts, in which he maintained that: "the "Vicars Apostolic are foreign emissaries, who "preside in virtue of an authority, delegated "by a foreign prelate, who has no pretensions

"to exercise such an act of power."* He therefore called upon the Northern and Southern clergy to assemble, and in conjunction with the laity, to appoint their Bishops in defiance of Rome; and he called on the Western and Midland Clergy to meet and invest their actual Prelates [if they pleased] with the authority, which, he asserted, they were not then possessed of.† True it is, that other writers better informed and better principled,‡ opposed the schismatical innovators, one of whom the present writer answered, in detail, each of the misguided *Layman's* books, and at last reduced him to silence,§ still these pestilential pub-

* *A Letter addressed to the Catholics of England by a Layman*, 1790. In his second letter, page 3, he recommends the example of the French schismatics in denying the necessity of the Pope's confirmation.

† First Letter.

‡ The Rev. Dr. Strickland, Charles Plowden, and J. Milner.

§ *The Clergyman's Answer to the Layman's Letter.—The Divine Right of Episcopacy*—and *Ecclesiastical Democracy detected.*—In the summer of the year 1792, the V. V. A. Walmesley, William Gibson and Douglas, attended by their Divines, Charles Plowden, R. Bannister, J. Barnard, and J. Milner, held a synod in Ormond Street, London, in which they censured twelve propositions, extracted from the Layman's Letters, *as erroneous, inducing to schism and heresy, contrary to the definition of a General Council and the Faith of the Church.*

lications had numerous abettors, even among the clergy, one of whom, a distinguished character, publicly declared that he would rather be the author of the *Layman's* first letter than of all his own publications.

APPOINTMENT OF TWO NEW BISHOPS.

None of the above-mentioned disorderly movements however, had the effect of removing the apostolical Walmesley, and the faithful Cardinal Antonelli from the straight line of their duty: accordingly in the latter part of the year 1790, Dr. William Gibson was appointed, according to the canons of the Church, and the rules of the English Mission, Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, and Dr. John Douglas, Vicar Apostolic of the Southern District. The first news of this event drove the Committee and their adherents to the verge of an open rupture with the Holy See. One great personage of that association, in a letter to Bishop Berington, dated Nov. 16, "entreats him to "stand firmly to his (pretended) election." Another gentleman of family and talents, then a pupil of No. 12, Lincoln's Inn, in a pamphlet subscribed with his name, and under the title of *A Protesting Catholic Dissenter,* pledges himself to propose at the next Catholic Meeting, that "No other person but Dr. Berington

" should be acknowledged as Bishop of the " London District." He had friends who were pledged to support him. The measure, however, which was most approved of, and finally adopted by the party, was to depute the Rev. Mr. Hussey to Rome, to " *protest against the* " *appointment* which (they apprehend) may have " taken place," of the Bishops Gibson and Douglas, and which they add, " is as easily " revoked as made."* The Holy See was timely warned of this intended deputation, and was prepared to give it a proper answer,† when

* The present writer does not here quote the alleged Instructions of the Committee to Mr. Hussey, as published by the Historian, p. 129, though these are sufficiently insulting to his Holiness, but a M.S. copy of them, apparently in the hand writing of a clerk, and corrected by the learned Secretary. In these the subscribers claim an absolute *right*, on behalf of the clergy, to choose their prelates, and declare those appointed to be *obnoxious and improper*, threaten to withdraw pecuniary supplies of the Mission, and pronounce the object of their choice to be a paragon of all the virtues they number up " beloved of God and man." The writer must observe, once for all, that the minutes (so called) of our Committees and Boards being privately made, and withheld from public inspection, are not of the smallest authority. He has met with abundant proofs of their being made considerably after their alleged dates, and altered to suit occasional circumstances.

† In an official letter from the Prefect of the Propaganda to Bishop T. Talbot, dated Jan. 29, 1791, His Eminence writes: " Quod ad gliscentes controversias attinet, non " ignorabit Amplitudo tua nuper à Clero et Magnatibus Ca-

the deputy himself, through a regard for his own reputation and conscience, not from the refusal of the Spanish ambassador to part with him for a short time, as is stated in the *Historical Memoirs,** resigned his commission, and acknowledged Bishop Douglas. A resignation, however, of far more importance for the peace and unity of the English Mission, was that of Bishop Berington, who, in a printed letter to the London clergy, dated Nov. 4, 1790, resigned every pretension to be their superior, and entreated them to receive as such, Dr. Douglas. In fact he was an unambitious, sweet-tempered prelate, of strong natural parts, and qualified for the highest station in the Church, had he been resolved to support her necessary authority against the prevailing encroachments and aberrations of powerful laymen. Every obstacle being now removed, the two new Bishops were consecrated, at the invitation of that patron of orthodoxy and piety, the late Thos. Weld, Esq. in his elegant chapel at Lulworth Castle.

"tholicis Romam expeditum esse D. Thomam Hussey, ut "dictus controversias Smo. Dno. nostro et huic Congni "exponat, atque interim orasse ne quidquam statuatur. "Itaque videndum erit quid novi afferat, quibusque rati-"onibus aut juramenti formulam, aut dissentientium opini-"ones sustinere possit."

* The present writer has sufficient reasons to assert this, from his communication with the Rev. Mr. Hussey at the time in question.

The Northern prelate was consecrated Dec. 5, by Bishop Walmesley, assisted by the Rev. Charles Plowden, and the present writer, who also preached the Consecration Sermon. Bishop Douglas was consecrated by Bishop Gibson, December 19, when the Rev. Charles Plowden, who had been a main support to the common cause of them both, delivered a discourse, now in print, suitable to the occasion.

FRESH CONDEMNATION OF THE OATH.

As the former Condemnation of the oath by the V. V. A. did not withhold the Committee from continuing their "exertions to obtain the "passing of the Bill, or *induce them to take any "steps for obtaining an alteration of the Oath,"* as the historian, for their and his own disgrace, avows,* and as there was every appearance that a Catholic Bill, of some sort, would pass in the course of a few months, the new Bishops saw that their proper station was the seat of Government. Thither, therefore, they hastened at the beginning of the year, carrying with them Bishop Walmesley's proxy, and a fresh Encyclical letter, which they had agreed upon and signed before they left Lulworth. Their first attempt was to induce the Committee, and

* P. 1, 25.

especially their Secretary and Manager, to enter into sentiments of Religion and Catholic unity; but these failing, and the person last alluded to ridiculing the idea of their finding support in Parliament,* they then published the above-mentioned encyclical letter, the copy of which will be found in the Appendix.† This letter, which is dated Jan. 19, 1791, rehearses the former encyclical letter of Oct. 21, 1789, *condemning the proposed oath,* and states that *no alteration of any moment had been made in it since that time.* It repeats the declaration that *no new oath ought to be taken, or instrument regarding Religion ought to be signed by Catholics without the approbation of their Bishops,* and thence argues that, *as they themselves had not approved of the oath in question, it could not be conscientiously taken.* It denies that *the Com-*

* The present writer is witness to this happening in his presence, when acting as agent to the Bishops.—The Secretary, writing in the name of the Committee, in his third Blue Book, p. 8, asserts that they "never refused any unobjectionable oath proposed to them." This is a falsehood, as an oath of this description, signed by the three Bishops in the heat of the contest, which is now before the writer in print, together with the Irish oath, was sent by the Bishops to the Committee, through their Secretary. This gentleman returned for answer, that *he did not think the legislature would accept of them.* The legislature, however, did accept of the latter, namely, the *first Irish oath.*

† See Appendix B.

mittee have any right to determine on oaths or instruments containing doctrinal matters, and claims *that right for the Bishops.* Finally, it rejects the appellation of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters.*

SCHISMATICAL PROTEST.

From the past conduct of the Committee, on a similar occasion, there was too much reason to fear that they might now refuse submission to their Bishops, though directing them and the rest of their flocks in a concern of the utmost importance to Catholic faith and unity, and to their own salvation; but no Christian of any sort was prepared to hear or read that stunning complication of profaneness, calumny, schism and blasphemy, which was published against the Bishops in their name, within a fortnight from the date of the encyclical,* and which forms the conclusion of the Second Blue Book. Not content with publicly and schismatically disclaiming submission to their Bishops, acting in the strict discharge of their pastoral duty, and this on the mere ground of their (the Committee's) own private judgment; they *protest and call on the awful name of God, again and again, to witness their schismatical protest,*

* See Appendix C.

against every *clause, determination, matter, and thing*, contained in the first as well as the second encyclical: whereas there are several matters and things contained in them both, to which they cannot consistently with common sense avoid yielding their assent. Not content with condemning their Bishops as being "arbitrary and unjust," they calumniously charge them, in the face of the public, with "inculcating principles hostile to so-"ciety and government, derogatory from the "allegiance due to the state!"—O what tears of contrition, what explicit retractions are not requisite to expiate so much guilt and scandal!*

The Bishops had little else to trust to for the success of their cause, but its native goodness,

* Though this most scandalous Protest was drawn up and signed in a moment of irritation, yet could not the chief subscribers be induced to recal it sixteen months afterwards, as appears by their common letter to the Mediators. See Buff Book, p. 22. In like manner, the learned Secretary who published it, after an interval of several months, testified his adherence to it in the following terms: "The Pro-"test and appeal (against the Bishop's two Encyclicals) has "been the subject of my most serious consideration: but "the reasons which make me think it a defensible measure, "would swell this letter into a dissertation."—Persisting in this opinion, he tried sixteen years afterwards, to induce Mr. Coyne and other printers to republish the whole of the Blue Books in Ireland.

and the divine assistance. The venerable Senior trusted entirely to the latter. He used to repeat with confidence, "*I have asked my Master that this bad oath may not pass; and he will grant my prayer:*" which prediction of the holy man was a subject of pleasantry to the learned gentleman. The two junior prelates were followed to London by their religious host, Mr. Weld, and the Rev. C. Plowden. The former was of great service to them in diminishing the horror with which the Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, had been inspired against a *Papist*, as contradistinguished from a *Protesting Catholic Dissenter:* the latter vindicated their cause with his victorious pen in his *View of the Oath*, and his *Answer to the Second Blue Book*. The present writer also went up to town at this time, being called thither by the two Bishops to act as their agent, in making what interest he could among Members of Parliament in favour of unity and orthodoxy. He was already known by character to Mr. Burke, who introduced him to Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham. By his advice he also waited on Mr. Dundas, and held a conference with him in the presence of Mr. Pitt. He had likewise an introduction to three of the established Bishops, to Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. William Smith, and other Members of the legislature,

all of whom listened to his arguments with the utmost kindness, and interpreted the oath in the plain sense of its words, and not in the lax, unnatural manner they were said to do in the Blue Books.*

INTRODUCTION OF THE BILL INTO PARLIAMENT.

The day of trial came on in the House of Commons, March 1, where the writer attended, amidst a crowd of exulting adversaries, while his friends were on their knees at home praying God to protect his own cause. Mr. Mitford, in presenting the Bill, said, in the style of his profession, a great many fine things in favour of the *Protestant Catholic Dissenters*, whom he associated with the *Remonstrants* in King Charles's reign, and against the *Papists*, who, he said, had, heretofore, " starved the Remonstrants." The illustrious Fox spoke with his accustomed enlargement of sentiment, and

* 1st. B. B. p. 6. The last named M. P. who was considered as the head of the Dissenting interest, expressed himself in these terms to the writer: " The chief objection " of our people to yours is, that we consider them as not " sufficiently observant of the obligation of an oath: but as " it now appears that your party are so much more scrupu- " lous on this head than the opposite party, you shall " have our support in opposition to them."

Burke dissipated the gathering mists of bigotry with the bright rays of his glowing imagination, and benevolent heart. Mr. Pitt spoke at great length, but in such obscure and ambiguous terms that Fox was obliged twice or thrice to call upon him for an explanation of his meaning. The fact is, he had not then made up his mind, whether there should be one Act, to comprehend both parties, or two Acts, one in favour of the Protestant Catholic Dissenters, whom, in a former speech, he had praised as good subjects, the other, barely to save from the gallows the traiterous, perfidious, and bloody-minded Papists, as he then considered them. At length the Attorney-General, afterwards the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Archibald Macdonald, rose and said, amongst other things to the same effect, that, *as he was entering into the house, a paper had been put into his hands which proved that one of the Catholic parties were as good subjects and as much entitled to favour as the other.* This paper, which will be found in the Appendix,* is entitled: "Facts "relating to the Contest among the Roman "Catholics." It had been drawn up by the writer on his journey from Winchester to London, and had been distributed by his friend, an officer of the House, among the members of it.

* See Appendix D.

This declaration of so distinguished a person as the Attorney-General, drew the attention of the Prime Minister, among others, to the contents of that paper, and caused him to express himself, soon after, in these words: "We have been deceived in the great outlines "of the Bill; and either the other party must "be relieved, or the Bill not pass."

STRAITS OF THE COMMITTEE.

From this time forward the fate of the Bill, though the passing of it was delayed for three months, may be said to have been in the hands of the V. V. A. In the meantime certain Catholics of high birth and the purest honour found themselves reduced to the greatest straits in consequence of their names appearing affixed to publications, which perhaps they had not perused,* but which, at all events, bore on their foreheads the marks of a twofold deception; that of cheating Catholics out of a portion of their Religion, and that of swindling the legislature out of concessions which it had not an idea of granting; namely, by our "Slipping," as the Secretary terms it, "from "under the operation of the laws, unheeded,

* See the Letter to an Episcopal Member of the Committee, quoted near the beginning of this Supplement.

" and unobserved."* In fact, the above-mentioned paper, or hand-bill of the writer, consists of quotations from the Blue Books, and of answers to those passages. It was impossible to deny the fidelity of the citations, and it was equally impossible to refute the writer's observations on them. The only resource, then, of the learned Secretary was, to dispute the authority of the writer in distributing his paper. For this purpose a paper was drawn up and presented to the writer, signed by twenty-six individuals of various descriptions, requiring him to give proof of his being authorized to act in the concerns of any other Catholics. He did not shrink from the challenge: but barely required to give his answer in writing, that it might not be misrepresented, and to have an hour's leisure for composing it. To be brief: he proved that the great body of Catholics throughout England looked up to their Bishops, to procure for them in the existing juncture an unobjectionable and proper form of an oath, that two parts in three of the London clergy had signified this to them in a formal manner but a few days before, that fifty-three in Lancashire had called upon them, in a printed paper now before the writer to this effect, testifying at the same time, that very few of their laity would

† 1 B. B. p. 4.

take the Committee's oath. Lastly, he produced a formal deputation to him from the Bishops, to act as their agent in the present business. Never was an attorney more fully authorized to transact another person's business than the writer proved he was to circulate the unanswerable hand-bill, which had produced so great an effect in the House of Commons: yet, as Mr. Secretary had no other line to move in, than that of disputing the writer's commission, he proceeded to print and circulate among Members of Parliament, sanctioned as usual with respectable names, a counter "Statement "of Facts," in which he denies that the supporters of the Oath, which he fraudulently identifies with the Protestation, are the *minor part* of the Catholic body, and that *real* scruples exist among the Catholics as to its lawfulness: adding that one John Milner, who had asserted these things in a hand-bill on *behalf of thousands,* being called upon for his authority in making these assertions, "could only pro- "duce the names of *three persons*—and those "never chosen to transact business in their, "the Catholics names." He concludes that, "it remains with the wisdom of Parliament, "whether it will accommodate itself to the "scruples of a few individuals; but that the "Committee and those in whose trusts they "have acted will repeat the Protestation (that

" is to say the Oath), as often as called upon." This Statement, so disgraceful and disgraced, the Secretary, as if anxious to raise a trophy to his adversary, reprinted the year following in the third Blue Book.* To support that fraud in the Statement, which represents the Protestation and the Oath to be one and the same thing, a splendid edition of the former was printed by the Secretary on elephant paper, and a copy of it circulated with each copy of the hand-bill. But as the grand object of the whole policy was, to induce a belief in Members of Parliament, that the supporters of the Oath consisted of all the respectable Catholics in England, and that the party which opposed it consisted only of John Milner, and three nameless individuals, therefore the name of John Milner was left out of the elephant edition, though unfortunately it had been affixed to the original Protestation, in the manner that has been explained above !†

Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.—OVID.

* Appendix, No. vii.

† Several weeks after this fraudulent transaction, and when it had totally failed of its intended effect, the learned gentleman gave another edition of the Protestation on elephant paper, in which he inserted the name of the writer. Fortunately the latter got sight of both editions : after which he waited on the Secretary, required to know why his name

FINAL ISSUE OF THE CONTEST.

In conclusion, those fraudulent artifices stated above, so unworthy of the Catholic religion, and so detrimental to the *real interest* of those who practised them, served only to augment this mortification. Soon after the Bill was brought forward, the ministry, probably unwilling to augment the strength of the *Dissenters*, obliged the Committee-men to drop that obnoxious appellation; and the arguments contained in the writer's hand-bill caused it to be still more peremptory, in proscribing the insidious and inconsistent title of *Protesting* or *Protestant Catholics*. Accordingly, in all their Memorials and other papers which appeared after the first of March, the Committee are found to resume their family name of *Roman Catholics*.* Finally, the Committee Oath, which had undergone many alterations in the House of Commons, but still remained unsatisfactory

was suppressed in one edition and appeared in the other. The gentleman tried long to evade the writer's question; at length, being urged with it, he answered, that *in printing the former edition, certain skins of signatures had slipped aside!* —The next day he wrote a letter to the same person, of which the following is an extract: "It was not in my power "to superintend the press,—and to what accident the omis- "sion in question was owing *I know not.*"—Lincoln's Inn, May 11, 1792.

* See Appendix to 3d B. B., N. vi. N. vii, &c.

to the Bishops, was totally discarded in the House of Lords, and the Irish Oath of 1778, in conformity with the Bishops' petition, was substituted in its place. How sorely mortified the learned Secretary and his party were at these events, and especially at the little credit given by the Legislature to their high sounding assurances, that *the Catholics of England, with the exception of four unaccredited individuals,* were ready to take the oath, may be conceived from the following extracts of that gentleman's letter to a venerable character in the country. It is dated Lincoln's-Inn, June 6th, 1791, and now lies before the writer. " Our Bill came before " the House of Lords on Tuesday. The busi- " ness was opened by Lord Rawdon. *I was* " *thunderstruck* to hear him set out with de- " claring, that, in the joy he felt in the pros- " pect of the happy success of our business, " it gave him real concern to find that *the Bill* " *would not extend to relieve a considerable num-* " *ber, perhaps a majority of the Catholics.* He " was followed by the A. B. of Canterbury. " His Grace was succeeded by their Lordships " of St. David's and Salisbury. All professed " to respect the principle of the Bill, but *all* " *thought it vastly imperfect.* The Bishop of " St. David's spoke most at length. He called " on God to witness his wishes to serve the " Catholics: but the present Bill was very im-

" perfect: so imperfect, that he doubted whe-
" ther it could be mended. He then repeated,
" with very little variation, the whole of Mr.
" Milner's last publication at the door of the
" House of Commons. If the Bill passed, with
" the oath in its present form, *one set of Ca-*
" *tholics were at the mercy of the other.* He
" saw the streets full of informers, the prisons
" crowded, &c. The Duke of Leeds, though
" a friend of the Bill, thought it should go
" over to the next sessions: so also thought
" Earl Fauconbergh. *Je croyais que le Diable*
" *s'en mêlait.*—On Thursday, Mr. Douglas sent
" in his ultimatum, consisting of four altera-
" tions; but the Irish oath, he said, would be
" agreeable to every one. On Friday, the
" critical debate came on. The Bishop of St.
" David's proposed the Irish oath; Lord Guild-
" ford and Lord Grenville insisted on a clause
" being inserted, by which we swear allegiance
" to the succession in the Protestant line.*
" The Duke of Leeds and Bishop of St. Da-
" vid's had read all the papers published on the
" occasion, and thought both parties equally
" violent and equally blameable.† With the

* The Secretary does not tell the Catholic public at whose suggestion, nor for *what purpose*, Lord Guildford was induced to move the insertion. These things, however, must one day be made manifest.

† The Secretary omits to mention, that the Duke of Leeds declared, that *the writers on the side of the Bishops*

" alterations mentioned the Bill was carried.
" What remains is matter of form."

MEETING AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN.

Two days after the passing of the Bill, namely, on June 9th, a Meeting of near 200 Catholics took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, of which the Secretary published a long account a few days afterwards, but of which he says little in his HISTORICAL MEMOIRS, except as to the resolution of depositing the original Protestation, with its signatures, in the British Museum. The present SUPPLEMENT will furnish several important particulars respecting the Meeting, which are wanting in both those publications.

Dr. Douglas having been informed, on the eve of the Meeting, that a vote of thanks to the Committee for their conduct in the affair of the Bill would be proposed at it, called together those clergymen of his confidence who resided in his neighbourhood, to deliberate whether or no such thanks could conscientiously be given to persons who had so long

had much the better of the argument, and that the Bishop of St. David's (Dr. Horsley) protested that *there are things in the Committee's Oath, which he, as a Protestant, could not swear!*

and so violently endeavoured to impose a condemned oath of heterodoxy and schism on the Catholics of England. He himself declared for the negative side of the question, as did a majority of the company: whereas the writer contended that the Committee might properly be thanked for their exertions in *procuring the civil benefits of the Act*, provided the Bishops were thanked *for their vigilant zeal in obtaining an orthodox oath*. This being agreed to, it was settled that when the vote in favour of the Committee was brought forward at the Meeting, the Rev. Vicar General, J. Barnard, should move an amendment to include the Bishops, and that the present writer should, after suitable observations, second the amendment. This was accordingly done with strict formality. Mr. Barnard, after moving his amendment, presented it to the chair in writing, and the present writer, after making his speech and seconding the amendment, continued to remind the chair and the company of the established rule of deliberative assemblies, which requires that a proposed amendment of a motion must be disposed of before the original motion itself. But this was all in vain: certain gentlemen who surrounded the chair insisted upon it that the amendment should not be put to the votes, and accordingly it was not put to them. The learned Secretary takes no notice

of this business in his Memoirs; what he says of it in his printed sheet is briefly this: "The "original motion was carried without the "amendment, and ordered to be inserted in the "public papers." Had he given a full and faithful account of the transaction, he must have stated that the supporters of the Bishops, present at the Meeting of June 9, 1791, when peaceably and orderly proposing a measure of a conciliatory nature on the part of those Bishops, were silenced by unrestrained clamour.—This circumstance decides the character of the Crown and Anchor Meeting. It was a disorderly cabal, and none of its acts were entitled to any authority or respect.

FRESH CONTEST ABOUT THE PROTESTATION.

It was reasonably expected by all peaceable persons of every description, that the passing of the Act, containing an oath of allegiance, to be taken by the Catholics, would have set the above-named equivocating instrument, which for two whole years had been the source of contention and division among them, at rest for ever. The legislature, after mature deliberation, had decided in what terms we should abjure the odious charges brought by our enemies against us. In short, Parliament had dictated to us the proper form of our Protesta-

tion. But this did not satisfy the noble minds of our Committee. They had been defeated before the public in a contest which they themselves had provoked by opponents whom they had despised, and, as routed armies often do, they were resolved to sing a *Te Deum* after their defeat. This was the real motive of the motion for depositing the battered Protestation in the British Museum, the carrying of which was the principal object of the Meeting at the Crown and Anchor. The ostensible grounds of this measure, alleged in the motion for it, were because "the oath in the Bill is not expressed in the words "of the Protestation,"* (so neither is the Committee's oath with which they were so well satisfied), and because "the Protesta-"tion is an explicit declaration of civil and so-"cial principles:"† just as if the oath prescribed by Parliament were deficient in these respects, at the same time that it was free from those ambiguities and errors, which had drawn down the censure of the Catholic Prelates upon it! However, as the Secretary and other leaders of the Committee were conscious of their influence in such a Meeting as that of the Crown and Anchor, and were acquainted with the talents of their ever ready orators, Priests as well as laymen, they insisted on dividing the

* Hist. Mem. ii. p. 136. † Ibid.

company, when there appeared, according to the Secretaries printed sheet, 21 Priests and 83 laymen for the motion of depositing the Protestation in the Museum, and 30 Priests, including Bishop Douglas and B. Walmesley's deputy, the Rev. Mr. Coombes, with 42 laymen against it. But though the learned gentleman was in such great haste to get the Protestation voted to the Museum, he let more than six months pass before he carried any instrument of that nature thither, and what he did then carry was not the original Protestation of 1789, but a new copy of it.*

FURTHER TRANSACTION AT THE TAVERN MEETING.

It is useless to say any thing of the pecuniary accounts of the Committee, which were laid

* The present writer and the Rev. Charles Plowden having in the heat of the Committee contest cast some imputations on the authenticity of the Instrument in the Museum, they were challenged in 1795 by the Cisalpine Club, in a printed hand-bill, to make good their charge. This they performed in two unanswerable pamphlets which they respectively published. See a Reply to the Report of the Cisalpine Club, by I. M., and Letter to the C. C. by C. P. However, as the learned Secretary is pleased in his Historical Memoirs to recal the attention of the public to this antiquated controversy, the writer intends to add an Appendix to the present work on this subject (see additional Appendix), a copy of which he will, with permission, deposit in the Museum, with several authentic documents in support of it.

before the company for their assistance in liquidating them, further than that Dr. Douglas and the present writer subscribed and advised their friends to subscribe what they could afford for this purpose; though, as they observed, there was no one to indemnify them for the expenses they had incurred in opposing the Committee.—A far more important business than the last mentioned, which is detailed at great length in the Secretary's printed sheet, though it passed over in the Memoirs, was brought forward at the Tavern Meeting. A Reverend member of the Committee, who had gone all its unlawful lengths, who continued to promote its oath after it had been censured by his Bishop, who had signed the two Blue Books with the schismatical Protest at the end of the latter of them, and who obstinately refused to retract these scandalous measures, had been interdicted the sacred ministry by that Bishop in his District. Different laymen and women had used their efforts in vain, to oblige the Prelate to reverse a sentence which he had conscientiously pronounced. The case was clearly an ecclesiastical one, and therefore Priests were solicited to interfere in it. The principal clergyman applied to for this purpose was one who had always shewn his obsequiousness to the Secretary and leaders of the Committee. He was not long in getting 13 other

Priests to join him in signing a letter, dated May 2d, and addressed to the Committee, pledging themselves, though belonging to a different District, to interfere in an ecclesiastical case between a private clergyman and his Bishop, and "to make the cause" of the interdicted Priest "their own." Never was there an ecclesiastical proceeding more irregular and disedifying; and, as one false step generally occasions more, they afterwards signed other publications equally reprehensible; one of which contains *implied heresy*.* These rash signatures, which were made by some of the 13 without any knowledge, and by the rest with only an imperfect knowledge of the cause which they had *made their own*, were the source of disquietude and misery to them for several years, till by the grace of God they successively, either in health or on their death-beds, fully retracted them. Eight other Priests of the London District, who with two others not belonging to it, are stated in the third Blue Book, p. 45, to have at Castle Street, Feb. 2. 1790, in sup-

* "Of this (Catholic) Church we believe the Bishop of "Rome to be the head, *supreme in spirituals by divine ap-* "*pointment, supreme in discipline by ecclesiastical institution.*" Appeal to the Catholics of England, p. 22.—It may be further observed, that B. Walmesley's conduct in this business was decidedly approved of by the other V. V. A. and by the Holy See herself.

port of the Committee's oath approved of a proposition condemned by the Church as *heretical*,* declared to their Bishop, that "They never affixed nor allowed their names to be affixed to the heterodox proposition."†

More important and unfortunate still was the case of the other ecclesiastical member of the Committee, the coadjutor Bishop of the Midland District; endowed with superior talents and the sweetest temper, he wanted the firmness requisite for the episcopal character in these times, to stem the tide of irreligious novelty and lay influence, and so lent his name and authority to the Oath, and the Blue Books, and every other measure which his fellow Committee-men deemed these might serve. Hence when his worthy principal in 1795 quitted a station, together with his life, which he had, with unex-

* Damnatio Propos. Synod. Pistoj. Propos. IV.

† See a certificate of three V. V. A. in the Directory for 1799.—One of the clergymen being appointed to a Bishopric in Ireland, published a letter to Mons. Erskine, dated Hampstead, May 1, 1798, of which the following is an extract. "I never saw the proposition until the late V. A. mentioned it in his letter to me. Though my name is gratuitously affixed to it, I was not even present at the time it was deliberated, otherwise I would not sanction a proposition the apparent meaning of which is heterodox." The abovementioned certificate and the present declaration, overturn the authority of the Blue Books, and implicate either the learned publisher of them or some of his friends, in the guilt of literary forgery.

ampled vigour, endeavoured to avoid, Dr. Charles Berington found he could obtain the spiritual faculties necessary for a V. A. without renouncing the Oath and the Blue Books, which the Holy See exhorted him, and his episcopal brethren entreated him to do. But the powerful laymen with whom he was unfortunately connected, and who exercised an absolute power over him, even in his episcopal concerns, would not allow him to submit to the Holy See in this business,* while certain clergymen, in whom

* One of the Prelate's friends, a leading man of the Committee, writes to him thus under date of April 15, 1797. "After the receipt of your letter, I applied to N— and N, "and N, who were all of the late Committee in town. They "all agree with me in thinking that you cannot of course "accede to the present form sent you from Rome."—In another letter the same person sets down a preliminary form of words, which he says N — and N—, both great men of the Committee, had agreed with him were to be prefixed by the Bishop to any submission he might make to the Holy See, in order to obtain his faculties.—In a third letter, he gives an account of an unsuccessful attempt which a noble friend of his had made on the Duke of Portland, to engage his interest in this business of spiritual faculties. He at the same time mentions his own success in engaging Mr. Pitt, through Sir John Mitford, to stir in the affair, adding: "Do not "mention any thing about Pitt's message till the whole "business is finished." He speaks in the same letter of a petition to Rome, "to be numerously signed:" that usual attempt to intimidate the Holy See!—In a different letter, the same personage refers the Prelate to another Committee-man of higher rank than himself, who, he says, "will

he placed great confidence, with far less honour pressed him to make a fraudulent submission.* Finding, however, after a vigorous resistance of more than three years continuance, that a renunciation of the Committee's cause was unavoidable, he signed the retractation to this effect, which is copied below.† Unfortunately, however, he did not act quite in the spirit of the re-

" inform you of what he has done in your business :" adding, " We have endeavoured to get Ministry to interfere on ac- " count of the confusion your removal would occasion."— Speaking of the interdict under which the V. A. of London had laid a clergyman, their common friend, he tells the coadjutor : " You must take care that Mr. T. (his V. A.) does " not withdraw his leave (from that clergyman) on account " of this circumstance."

* Writing to the Prelate, under date of April 12, 1797, concerning the formula of retractation, sent from Rome for his signature, he says : " You consider that formula as a re- " nunciation of every thing in the Blue Books, and even of " the Protestation : I think, if ever I saw any thing clearly " in my life, that it implies nothing of the kind; but merely " a revocation of such *semina*, &c. as the H. See thinks cen- " surable in them. If in consequence of your signing it, " your enemies should say that you have *condemned the Blue* " *Books, &c.*, they will tell an infamous falsehood: but you " by signing it will put an end to a malicious persecution, " and will bless your District with a liberal and enlightened " Prelate, instead of a N—, or a N—, or some such fanatic. " I write this with tears in my eyes."

† " Ego Carolus Berington ad normam declarationis mihi " per S. Congregationem, probante Summo Pontifice, pro- " scriptæ, ad S. Congregationem perferendæ, pro reproba-

nunciation, and died suddenly before he received his faculties.

THE MEDIATION.

This was set on foot in April 1792 by three respectable and religious Catholic gentlemen, John Webbe Weston, of Sutton Place, Francis Eyre, of Workworth Castle, and William Sheldon, Esq. of Brailes, in order to reconcile the Committee with the Vicars Apostolic, against whom they continued to be irritated on different accounts. When requested by the Mediators to state their grievances, with a promise that they would use their best endeavours to get them redressed, five members of the Committee, by a letter dated April 30, 1792, mentioned the following: 1st. "The depriving "Mr. W. (one of their ecclesiastical colleagues) "of his faculties:—2d. The publishing of "the *Answer to the Second Blue Book* by the

"tione formulæ Juramenti à S. Congregatione reprobatæ, "una cum Libellis, qui vulgo Turchini (Blue Books) dicun- "tur, atque adeo pravæ qualiscunque, noxiæ, pericu losæ "que doctrinæ in illis, sive Formulâ, sive Libellis contentæ "præsenti hoc meo scripto declaro me revocare, revocatam- "que haberi velle subscriptionem prædictis scriptis ac Li- "bellis a me appositam. Profiteorque me Apostolicæ "Sedis judicio libenti, vereque sincero animo submittere, "et quæ hactenus exea prodierint, quæ que in posterum "prodibunt dogmaticas decisiones amplecti et amplexurum "esse."

" Rev. C. P., in which the author asserts that " he wrote at the request of three V. V. A.:— " 3d. That the ecclesiastical government of " the Catholic Bishops in this country is not " conformable to the known rules and canons " of the Church, by which the clergy of the " Mission ought to possess the rights of *paro-* " *chial clergy.*"* These complaints being laid before the Bishops, they answered as to the first point, that if the Rev. gentleman under an interdict would express his submission to their decision, they would respectively concur to the removal of it. But this condition his colleagues " unanimously and decidedly rejected."† Respecting the second point, the Bishops answered agreeably to the wishes of their advocate, that they had requested the R. C. P. to answer the Blue Book, but that if he had written any thing amiss, he himself was to answer for it. But the Secretary of the Committee had no stomach to come to close quarters, and in such a cause, with the Rev. C. P. As to the third alleged grievance, the Bishops contented themselves with saying that they would consider of it. In fact, these lay gentlemen did not understand the ecclesiastical business they

* See a quarto pamphlet of 26 pages published by the Mediators, and called *The Buff Book,* because the copies of it were stitched up in Buff coloured paper.

† Page 16.

had embarked in. They wished our scattered missionaries to be changed into Parish Priests, before there were any parishes founded for them to govern! They were *all* of them to be alike *Rectors without any Vicars;* like an army of officers without any soldiers!—and this to restrain the Bishops from deciding doctrinal questions, or at least from censuring those of their clergy who might refuse obedience to their decisions!

THE CISALPINE CLUB.

The term of five years, to which the duration of the Committee was originally limited, being to close on May 3, 1792, the leading members of it, with their Secretary and a few of their chosen friends, to the number of thirteen in all, held a Meeting, April 12, at Free Masons Tavern, when they formed themselves into a CASALPINE (or Anti-Papal) CLUB, under fourteen rules, which they printed. The last of these declares, that "every Member of the "present C. Committee shall be an original "member of this club, unless he declines it." The professed object of this club was to oppose the alleged *usurpation of the Pope and the tyranny of the V. V. A.* It was, in fact, a continuation of the Committee, though without the pretence of a delegation, and those leading members of it, alluded to above, pledged them-

selves to the mediators, in a letter, now in print, dated Lincoln's-Inn, June 22, that is to say, when they were *Club-men*, not Committee-men, in the following terms: "We beg leave "to repeat, that we are determined in all "similar situations to resist any ecclesiastical "interference, which may militate against the "freedom of English Catholics."* They had before said: "the Protest we cannot recall, "while the Encyclical Letters remain unrecal-"led."† That the spirit of the Club had not evaporated two years after its foundation, appears by the following extracts from a letter, dated March 12, 1794, and written by one of its principal founders and patrons to a dignified friend of his: "We had yesterday a great "meeting of the members of the Cisalpine "Club, when some resolutions were agreed to, "which I hope will put an end to all the non-"sense that has been talked about that society. "You will soon see them, and I am sure they "are such as will meet with your approbation. "The principles of our Protestation must be "kept up and made visible. I experience the "advantage of that strong ground we then "took, in every application we make to our "friends. The merits of it would soon be "frittered away, if the spirit of that Protes-

* Buff Book, p. 23. † Ibid. p. 22.

" tation were not preserved by such a meeting,
" where the young men may continue to sup-
" port their father's principles, who signed the
" Protestation before they came into the pub-
" lic world."

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MEETING.

The notorious anti-catholic spirit of the Cisalpine Club caused another Club to be formed under the above-mentioned title, in effecting which the respectable Mediators, named above, were mainly instrumental. The first Meeting was held, and the eighteen rules of it settled at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on May 1, 1794, when the following members of it were present: Bishop Douglas, the Lords Newburgh, Stourton, Arundell, and Clifford: the Baronets Fletewood, Jerningham, Blount, and Haggerstone, with about forty other respectable gentlemen. The greatest hopes of general benefit to the Catholic Religion and the Catholic cause were conceived from the continuance of this Society; but, owing to some mismanagement or jealousy, which the writer has not fully discovered, it fell to pieces in the course of a very few years. In the mean time, the Cisalpines have increased their numbers and perpetuated themselves, with very slight

interruptions,* down to the present time. The fact is, that several well-intentioned Catholics who now belong to it, are unacquainted with the history of it here given, and they are unconscious of the irreligious nature of the sentiments to which they pledge themselves at its meetings.†

RESULTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO ENGLISH CATHOLICS.

Among the many other events of late years, relating to the Catholics of England, which their historian has left to be supplied by the present writer, are those which resulted to them from the French Revolution. Of the 50,000 priests,‡ who after the assassination of several thousands of their brethren were expelled from their native country, 8,000 sought refuge in England,§ where they served many Catholic

* While the Cisalpine Republic existed the Club suppressed its title; and, when its members have addressed Rome, they have tried to conceal the existence of such a club.

† The first sentiment given and adopted at the annual Meetings of the Cisalpine Club is in honour of the Old Committee [alas, its members are ingulphed in eternity, all except the Secretary and two others]; now this sentiment, if it signifies any thing, signifies continued approbation of the *Protestant-Catholic-Dissenters' Oath*, of the three *Blue Books*, and the *schismatical calumnious Protest!*

‡ Baruel's Hist. Clerg. § Ibid.

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congregations and families, who from the deficiency of English priests, were destitute of the benefits of their religion, and edified persons of every description by their modesty, piety, and strict morality. They were soon followed by a whole convent of French religious women, as these were in succession by different female communities of our countrywomen. They were universally received not only with generous hospitality, but also with beneficent kindness. The King gave up his house at Winchester for the reception of 1,000 of the clergy. His present Majesty supplied the nuns of Montargis with provisions during the whole time of their residence in London; Ministry remitted the Custom-house dues on whatever books, altar-plate, or other valuables, any of them brought with them, and our fellow-subjects in general cheerfully contributed (none more cheerfully than the established clergy) to their relief. The only persons who did not partake of this benevolent spirit were the Jacobins of England, a few bigots among the Dissenters, and certain Catholic Cisalpines. In proof of what is said of the last-mentioned, it will be sufficient to quote what a great leader of the Club wrote to a venerable character (who could not but disapprove of his sentiments), under date of Sept. 8, 1794: "What a quantity of "Nuns, Monks and Friars, are arrived! What

" is to be done with them?—It is well wor-
" thy the consideration of the V. V. A. how
" far it is advisable, safe, and prudent to en-
" courage their establishment: how far we
" are bound, by our oath, by our honour, not
" to connive at a wilful transgression of our
" Act of Parliament. Let us consider, &c."—
When it is known that Catholics of power were thus disposed in regard of the most inoffensive, the most pure and pious, and the most *useful* description of English Catholics;* next to the officiating clergy, it is easy to account for a circumstance which took place respecting them in 1800. A religious controversy had taken place in one of the Cathedral Cities between a Prebendary and the Catholic Pastor of that city, in which the latter, owing to the advantage of his cause, was allowed to have had greatly the advantage. In this posture of affairs, it was resolved on, by the worsted party, to have recourse to Parliament, for an Act to annoy the Catholics, though it was not settled on which side to attack them. At one time it was intended to lay restraints on the French Clergy, some of whom had been actually sent out of the kingdom for making converts; but at length it was resolved on to torment the poor

* Allusion is here made to the virtuous and religious education given by the ladies to the youths of their own sex.

Nuns, by putting them under a species of *Alien Act:* accordingly a Bill was brought into the House of Commons for this purpose, and, as it was at first countenanced by the Minister, it seemed sure of succeeding. At length, however, being opposed by Messrs. Sheridan, Hobhouse, Windham, &c. it became weaker and more relaxed in every stage of its progress, and was likely to be totally lost, when the first-mentioned member proclaimed to the Commons, that "a compromise had taken place." Accordingly the Bill met with no further opposition among them, though, after all its changes, it was still in such a state, that, as O'Leary said, in his excellent pamphlet on the subject,* "The Ladies would say of it: Send "us back to the French guillotines, rather "than subject us to the conditions proposed "in the Bill." The fact is, Mr. Sheridan, who was extremely intimate with the Cisalpines in question, never doubted of their being authorized to make terms for the poor recluses: and to give a colour to such a pretence, they had actually written to them for their certificates and other documents, with a promise of protecting them. The upshot of the business was, a real friend of theirs informed them that they were betrayed, and advised them to throw

* Remarks on Sir Henry Mildmay's Bill.

themselves on the humanity of the House of Lords, without any Cisalpine interference whatever. This they did, and the Bill was quashed at once.

The historian has wisely passed over certain transactions, which caused a gentleman of his confidence to be sent to P. Pius VI. at the time of the first invasion of Rome by the French, and at a time when the Holy Father himself was detained in the Carthusian Convent at Florence. When that heroical pontiff had finished his martyrdom in the prison of Valence, in August, 1799, the infidels of France and the fanatics of England equally boasted that the Popedom was annihilated: but, *He who dwelleth in heaven derided them, and the Lord laughed them to scorn:* he had *built his Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, upon the Rock of Peter;* accordingly at that crisis, God gave a temporary triumph to the arms of the allies, which enabled the Cardinals to hold a regular conclave at Venice, in which, on March 14, 1800, His present Holiness, Pius VII. was canonically elected; after which victory resumed her former course, and Napoleon Buonaparte became master of France and Italy, under the title of *First Consul,* a title which, with its annexed power, was acknowledged by this country, and all Europe. The Pope embraced the opportunity which these circum-

stances afforded him of reuniting France to the unity of the Catholic Church. To effect this, however, a new circumscription of Dioceses throughout that kingdom became necessary, and, of course, the resignation of the surviving Bishops, who were then in the tenth year of their exile, in different parts of Europe, with an understanding at the same time that those among them who chose to return to France would be promoted to some of the intended new Bishoprics. The greater number gave in their resignation: the rest from motives of loyalty to their sovereign, whose cause the restoration of Religion in France was thought to injure, refused to comply. Of the second order of exiled clergy resident in England, nine parts in ten of them returned to France to acknowledge the existing government, and to labour in restoring Religion and morality there, which, by that time, were almost equally extinct, and they were furnished with money by our Government for their voyage home. Among those who remained in England, several unfortunately adopted schismatical principles, refusing to acknowledge the Church of France, restored by P. Pius VII. to be part of the Catholic Church, or to communicate with it. The most conspicuous man among these was a Monsieur Blanchard, who published many works in support of the schism. In opposition to these

Père le Point, S. J. and Abbé Robert, published some short tracts, and Dr. Milner one of greater extent, which is entitled: *An Elucidation of the Briefs of the Holy See, respecting the Church of France.*

PEACE RESTORED TO THE ENGLISH MISSION.

The disturbance occasioned by the Blue Book controversy still continued, especially in the Midland District, which had been in a kind of hostility with the other Districts for several years. There was even a dispute concerning the legitimate source of jurisdiction there; the senior Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Gibson, claiming to be this source on one hand, and the late B. Berington's Vicar, Dr. Bew, claiming to be it on the other. One of the first concerns of the new Pope was to settle this important controversy. Accordingly the Archbishop of Nisibis, by his authority, in a letter, dated Venice, April 23, 1800, decided the matter in favour of the former claimant. Still it continued a great subject of contention between that prelate (he being the regular presenter) and the Cisalpine party, who should be the future V. A. In the meantime the Rev. Gregory Stapleton, a gentleman of ancient family, and unimpeachable orthodoxy and morality, having accom-

panied the Rev. Mr. Nassau to Rome, on a deputation of equal secresy and importance, he was appointed to the vacant District, Nov. 7, 1800.* By his exertions peace and order were restored in his department. These, however, did not continue long, as Dr. S. died in May, 1802, when a fresh contest arose between the Senior V. A. and certain powerful Cisalpines, concerning the choice of a Bishop for the vacant District. The latter had recourse to the means they had employed in the vacancy of the London District: the former satisfied himself with claiming his right, which was supported by Cardinal Erskine, then at Rome.† By their united influence, Dr. John Milner was appointed Bishop of Castabala, and V. A. of the Middle District, March 1, 1803:‡ but here a new obstacle occurred. The latter conceived

* Date of the Brief.

† Letter from his Eminence to the writer. In another letter to a Protestant, he claims the whole business to himself.

‡ Date of the Brief.—Six years before this time, Card. Gerdil, then Prefect of the Propaganda, wrote to Bishop Walmesley, signifying that, if the V. V. A. approved of the measure, he would recommend Dr. M. to be Coadjutor to Dr. C. B. in order to exercise those faculties which were denied to the latter, for his refusal to retract. One of them did not approve of it, still hoping that Dr. B. would comply. Upon the death of the latter, Dr. M. was regularly presented to succeed him; but the superior merit of Dr. S. caused him to be preferred.

it his duty to decline such a promotion altogether, and he had the strongest antipathy to a residence in that country, where he saw he must reside in case he accepted of it. He consulted with his friends, and remained long undecided; at length one of those friends* having made him sensible, that if he refused the situation, probably it would fall into the hands of some one who would perpetuate the dissentions and innovations to which it had been so long subject, he consented to receive consecration, which was administered to him by Bishop Douglas, in St. Peter's chapel, Winchester, May 22, 1803, the Bishops Gibson and Sharrock assisting, besides Dr. Poynter, Bishop elect of Halia, the destined Coadjutor of the London District, the Rev. Thomas White, who preached the Consecration Sermon, the Rev. Mr. Perry, V. G., Mr. Richard Southworth, S. T. P., Messrs. Hodgson, Griffiths, Walmesley, Grafton, F. John Baptist Prior, Abbé Carron, &c. The following week the same august ceremony was performed on Dr. Poynter, with the same assistance and company, for the most part, in the chapel of Old Hall, when Bishop Milner delivered a Discourse in honour of the consecrated Prelate. The happy meeting of the four V. V. A., the Coad-

* The Ven. Prior of Acton Burnel.

jutor Prelate, and of so many respectable Priests, gave occasion to the holding of a regular synod, in which many things regarding Religion were settled with perfect unanimity. Among these was an answer to the following question then proposed: *What are the chief practical grievances under which the Catholic Religion labours in England, from the present state of the laws, and which we ought to get redressed, when this can be effected?* The answer unanimously given in the Synod was this: *The following are the chief grievances in question:* 1. *Some Catholics, such as Soldiers, Sailors, &c. are still debarred the exercise of our Religion.* —2. *Catholic marriages, though publicly performed in licensed chapels, are not valid in law.*— 3. *Though Catholic Chapels and Schools are licensed by law, yet the property for their support is subject to confiscation.**

* The first of these grievances is in some degree redressed by the toleration of Government; still it requires the addition of half a dozen words in the Annual Mutiny Act, to protect Catholic Officers and Soldiers, even from capital punishment, for refusing to attend the established worship. With respect to the second grievance, we have been publicly told by Mr. Percival, Lord Colchester, and every parliamentary speaker on the subject, that we have but to ask for redress in this most conscientious matter in order to obtain it. If even the V. V. A. would unite for this purpose, they could not fail of success. As to the third and most difficult point, it may be presumed there would

be no objection, on the part of the legislature, to put our ecclesiastical property on the same footing with that of the Wesleyan Methodists, and of other Dissenters, which is *practically secure*. In a Book called, *A Sketch of the Proceedings of the Deputies for protecting the Civil Rights of the Dissenters, Burton, Leadenhall Street*, 1814, is the form of a *Trust-Deed*, by means of which the Meeting-Houses and other common property of the Dissenters are put under the protection of the law.

END OF PART I.

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMOIRS,

&c. &c.

PART II.

THE VETO.

HAVING so long parted company with the historian of the English Catholics, for the purpose of gathering up his omissions, the Supplementary writer rejoins him at this new and important æra of modern Catholic history. He foresees, however, that as the learned author's object, in the subsequent part of his work, is the same that it has been in the preceding part of it, namely: to palliate and defend the conduct which he himself has held in Catholic affairs, not to give a full and true account of them, it will be impossible they should continue long together, and that his excursions in collecting materials overlooked by the historian, will henceforward be even more frequent than they have been. In

doing this, he is really sorry that he must so often be under the necessity of speaking of himself: but without doing this, he could not do justice to his subject.

It has been asserted by a great many ill-informed or self-interested writers and speakers, that the Irish Prelates, who, to the number of ten, met together at Dublin in 1799, were the original authors of the Veto, and that Dr. Milner, as agent to the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, authorized the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ponsonby to propose it to Parliament in 1808: no assertions, however, can be more false than these are, as the writer will proceed to shew. The falsehood of the former is proved by the historian himself, where, on the positive testimony of Lord Grenville,* Mr. Pitt's confidential friend and fellow minister, and of Lord Castlereagh, his agent in the transaction, he traces up the plan of a Royal interference in the appointment of Catholic Bishops to the above-named author of the Union.†—First, then, the original plan was that of government, not of any Catholic

* Lord Grenville speaking on the Catholic question in 1810, said, "to me, it (the plan of a Veto) is not new. It "formed part of the plans intended to be brought forward "at the period of the Union."—Keating's Report.

† Lord Castlereagh said on the same occasion: "Upon "the ecclesiastical part of the arrangement, I was autho-"rized in 1799 to communicate with the Catholic clergy."—Ibid.

Bishops; and as the negociation began on the part of government, so it went off on their part, every promise made and every hope held out to the Catholics to gain their consent to the Union, being set aside, when that point was carried.—Secondly, the ten Bishops, who were induced to enter into the negociation, were not "The Prelates of Ireland," as our historian chooses to term them,* nor were they a majority of them, being little more than a third part of their whole number; neither were they on this occasion the representatives of the Prelates of Ireland, for they did not so much as inform their absent brethren of the business in question, either before or after their communication with the Secretary of the Castle. In short, they were barely the episcopal trustees of Maynooth College, who having assembled in Dublin to attend to its concerns, that Minister took occasion to consult them on the double plan of a state provision for the Catholic clergy, and of a government interference in the appointment of their successors. Hence the answers which they gave to the Secretary's questions were never considered by them, nor can they in justice be considered by others, as expressing any thing more than *their own private opinion, in the existing circumstances,* on the points proposed to them.—Next, then, as to the purport of these

* Page 145.

very answers they will be found, on a strict examination, to fall very short of that contained in the Veto, as it was generally understood: for the Maynooth trustees approved of the interference of government in episcopal elections, barely as far as was necessary to *ascertain the loyalty of candidates*. They moreover stipulated for their "own *just influence*," and also for the *consent of the Pope* in this important business. Finally, to prove that the answers of the Maynooth trustees had no connection with the *Veto*, proposed in the House of Commons in 1808, it is sufficient to mention that these were never once referred to in the debates on the Catholic Question, either in 1805, or in those of 1808, nor indeed in any publication previously to the autumn of the last mentioned year. The following is the true account of the way by which they become known to the public.—A nobleman of high rank, and one who was much acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, conversing with the present writer on Mr. Ponsonby's proposal in Parliament, the day after it was made, namely, on May 26, 1808, said that *something, he knew not what, had passed on the same subject several years before, between certain Catholic Prelates and the government of Ireland*, and he directed the writer to procure for him a full account of the same from one of them, whom he named. Accordingly the Paper of

Resolutions, which our historian, Sir J. Hippisley, and other writers have so often published, was sent to his Lordship, who in return, urged the writer to print it. This the latter refused to do, saying: "I know full well what a scourge "to my brethren in Ireland this paper will "prove: but I will not be the executioner to "apply the scourge." The paper was then put into the hands of two Catholic gentlemen, who were preparing *A Report of the Debates on the Catholic Question,* in the last named year, and they published it as an Appendix to their work.

INTERMEDIATE NEGOCIATIONS.

Though the Resolutions of the ten Prelates in 1799 were equally unknown to Catholics and Protestants in both islands, yet the subject of them was frequently discussed by leading men of both communions, at least on this side of the water. Sir John Hippisley, in particular, was continually raising alarms in the minds of his Catholic acquaintances, about what he called *the long sleepers,* meaning the obsolete laws of Elizabeth's reign, by which all manner of correspondence or intercourse with Rome is prohibited under pain of death: his meaning in this was to dispose them to accept with cheerfulness, certain legislative restraints on the appointment of Catholic Bishops, and their

intercourse with the Apostolic See, the management of which, by means of an office to be created for that purpose, he expected would be put into his hands. The Baronet gave a sketch of his plan, in his speech on the Catholic Question in 1805, an excellent speech, and deservedly applauded by Dr. Troy, Dr. Milner, and other Catholics in other respects, but severely condemned among themselves, as far as regarded the proposed restrictions on their Religion.* The fact is, they never imagined that any of their Protestant advocates could speak for a length of time on their subject in such manner as to merit their unqualified approbation, and they conceived the Baronet to be so warmly and disinterestedly their friend, that he would when desired give up any project of his own, which they should instruct him was injurious to their feelings. Soon after Sir John Hippisley had printed his speech, a Catholic Baronet of great talents and proportionable weight, among Protestants as well as Catholics, published a work

* The historian has a section, p. 171, to shew that the Prelates, including the writer approved of Sir J. Hippisley's *speech;* whence he infers, that they approved also of the latter's new plan of discipline, which forms a very small part of it. The inference does not hold good: and the writer is authorized to aver, that Dr. Troy in particular was deterred from giving a new edition of the speech, as he once intended to do, by reflecting on the mischievous tendency of that plan.

in which, presuming no doubt on the support of several other Cisalpine Catholics, he made the following ample offer: "If Government "wishes to have the appointment of our "Bishops, it has but to signify its intention, "in order to its being complied with."* Two other Catholic gentlemen, to the knowledge of the writer, waited on certain great Statesmen, engaging to procure a tender of the Veto from the laity of their communion, if it would be accepted of. There can be no doubt that it was from his communications with Catholics of this description, that the able writer who disguised himself under the name of Peter Plimley, thought himself justified in publishing that he was "*authorized*" to say, that "the Catholics "were ready to invest the Crown with the right "of appointing their Bishops;"† and that Mr.

* Considerations on the Cath. Debate of 1805, by Sir J. T.

† The writer's words are these: "To my certain know-"ledge, *the Catholics* have long since expressed to his "Majesty's ministers their perfect *readiness to vest* in his "Majesty, either with the consent of the Pope, or *without* "*it* if it cannot be obtained, the nomination of the "Catholic Prelacy." Letter ix. p. 30.—Counsellor McKenzie, a Catholic Barrister, expressed the same sentiments in a publication about the same time; and the Rt. Hon. Sanders Dundas, now Lord Melville, declared in Parliament, that *to his knowledge many English Catholics would not be satisfied with Emancipation for themselves, unless their clergy were laid under the proposed restrictions.*

Ponsonby himself made the offer in Parliament which will be mentioned hereafter.

Other members of the establishment, but of far greater weight than the last mentioned, frequently conferred with the writer on the best means of serving the Catholics. These, however, in their opinion, required some alteration in the mode of appointing Catholic Bishops. Their several plans for effecting this, the writer communicated to his brethren and the Apostolic See! He has now lying before him a *Biglietto* from the latter, dated Sept. 7, 1805, which answers in a luminous and satisfactory way all his queries concerning these plans. First, the state-pension is strongly deprecated: 2dly, it is proved that no Concordat can be made with an A-Catholic Sovereign, investing him with power to nominate Catholic Prelates; in confirmation of which the letter of Benedict XIV. to Frederick the Great is quoted: 3dly, it is denied that an A-Catholic Sovereign can be permitted to make a choice, even among the General Vicars of the actual Bishops: lastly, it is admitted that *a mere negative power* of objecting to episcopal candidates by an A-Catholic Sovereign admits of fewer difficulties than the former schemes (though even this is objected to): but it strongly asserted, that in case such negative power should ever be granted, effectual precautions would be requisite to prevent

this *negative power* from growing into *a positive one*.—In 1807 the writer visited Ireland for the first time, when, being in company with eight or ten Catholic Prelates, he warned them of the storm that was gathering over their heads on the subject of episcopal appointments, to which admonition one of them answered in the hearing of the rest: "We cannot allow Ministry to "choose our Bishops, but we will choose "none whom they object to;" namely, on *civil grounds*, for so the writer understood the answer. During the interval between 1805 and 1808, that most worthy Catholic Nobleman Lord Fingal, being obliged frequently to pass through the town of the writer's residence, in his way to and from Ireland, on the business of the Petitions with which he was charged, never failed to honour him with a visit: the latter, in return, never failed to recommend caution to his Lordship against entangling himself in the projects going forward for altering our Church-discipline.

THE RIGHT HON. MR. PONSONBY'S PROPOSAL IN 1808.

This subject is introduced by the historian in his Memoirs under the following title: "The "proposal of the Veto in the House of Com- "mons by Mr. Ponsonby; and in the House of

" Lords by Lord Grenville, *at the suggestion* of " Dr. Milner, Bishop of Castabala &c.,"* which announcement to be sure is not quite so injurious to the writer as it is to proclaim him the *author of the Veto,* and to assert that he *authorized Mr. Ponsonby to make an offer of it in Parliament* according to the vulgar rumour, but it is hardly less so. The real fact is, that the Rt. Hon. Gentleman was prepared and resolved to make the proposal which he did make, before he had any communication with the Bishop's agent, being encouraged to do so by his acquaintance with the sentiments of many English Cisalpine gentlemen, and with the declaration which he refers to of Lord Fingal and other Irish Catholics.† Being, however, unexpectedly called to an account for his autho-

* P. 173.

† " I asked Lord Fingal if I had permission to state such proposal at the present time? " He said," certainly: but he added, " that the Irish Bishops had one of the Catho- " lic Bishops who was their agent."—Report of Mr. Ponsonby's Speech in 1810.—See Keating's Report, p. 136. In other respects the M. P. makes numerous mistakes. He says, " Lord Fingal stated to me, that Dr. M. was in *War-* " *wickshire,* and would write to me." No such communication took place. He adds: " *Before the 3d of May* " Lord Fingal wrote to me to say, that *Dr. M. was in* " *London, and* that he and Dr. M. would *wait upon me the* " *next day*—the conversation lasted *some hours, two or* " *three hours* at least."—Dr. M. did not arrive in London till Friday, May the 22d, and the conversation did not last above a quarter of an hour.

rity by the Hon. Mr. Yorke, rather than introduce other names, he in a manner threw the whole responsibility for what he had said upon Dr. Milner,* confirming it with particulars still more detrimental to the latter's character as a Catholic agent and divine.†

* In Faulder's Revised Report, p. 115, which is far less offensive to Catholic ears than the real language of the Rt. H. Gentleman, he is made to say: "The Catholics con- "sidered among themselves about giving to the Pope a "power over the clergy, and the government no controul "over them, and they determined to give government every "information upon the subject, and to make their superior "clergy subject to the Crown."—Does it appear on the face of this very statement, that the Bishops with their agent "con- "sidered among themselves, and determined to make their su- "perior clergy subject to the Crown?"—This language plainly indicates some lay Catholics.—Why, then, cite Dr. M.?

† The following is the explanation which the Rt. Hon. Gentleman gave to Mr. Yorke. "My authority is derived "from several of the most respectable Catholics in Ireland. "I have had conversation with Dr. Milner, appointed to act "here for the Catholic Bishops. He informed me that such "is their *determination*: he *believes*, that if the prayer of "their petition be granted, *they will not have any objection* "*to make the King virtually the head of their Church!!!* for "so I think he must become: and that no man shall be- "come a Catholic Bishop who has not received the appro- "bation of his Majesty; and that, although even *appointed* "*by the* Pope, if disapproved by his Majesty he shall *not be* "*allowed to act, or take upon himself his spiritual functions!*" —Most assuredly Dr. M. was never before or since accused of uttering so much inconsistency, heterodoxy and schism. —Ibid. p. 133.

The following is a plain unvarnished account of the above-mentioned business, which the writer has often before published, without ever being contradicted, and which now will go down to posterity and be believed by it.—Having arrived in London from Staffordshire on Friday, May 20, 1808, five days before the Catholic Question was to be brought forward in Parliament, he was the next day conducted by Lord Fingal to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ponsonby, without, however, being informed of the subject that was to be treated of between them. To be brief: the Rt Hon. Gentleman asked him as agent to the Irish Prelates: *What power they were disposed to attribute to His Majesty in the choice of future Catholic Bishops?* To this question the writer distinctly answered as follows: " I know very well that they cannot, " conformably with their Religion, attribute to " His Majesty *a positive power* in this busi- " ness: but I believe, on good grounds, that " they are disposed to attribute *a negative power* " to him However, as I have no instructions " from them on the subject, I cannot positively " answer for them." This admonition the writer repeated several times. It is to be observed, that the word VETO was not then known, for it was not till some months later that it was invented in Ireland. It is also to be observed, that the Rt. Hon. M. P. did not say

a word intimating an intention of making a proposal of any kind in Parliament, and that he was so little satisfied with the writer's answer respecting the disposition of the Prelates, that he requested him to write out of hand to them on the business, which he did by sending letters to five of them that very evening. Reflecting, however, as he returned from the conference, that the necessity of the Pope's authority in any new regulation of discipline had either not been mentioned, or not sufficiently enforced, he wrote a hasty note to Mr. P. to supply the defect, into which, however, he introduced several unconnected subjects, on which he had conversed with the Member, and among others the process by which, *in case the Pope and the Prelates agreed to the plan,* the Catholic Bishops of Ireland would be appointed in future. That this ill-digested paper was a mere hypothesis, and not a fixed plan for Mr. P. to act upon, is plain from the concluding words of it, which are these : " Dr. M. has not " of course had an opportunity of consulting " with the Prelates of Ireland on the important " subject of the Catholic Presentations, but " he has every reason to believe that they will " cheerfully subscribe to the plan traced out in " the first page of this note."*

* See the Hon. Robt. Clifford's Origin and Progress of the Veto, p. 3.

The debate took place on the day fixed for it, May 26, in the course of which the Rt. Hon. gentleman, in the warmth of his zeal to procure the Emancipation, and his anxiety to disengage himself from Mr. Yorke's importunity, advanced those strange positions, that "the Catholic Bishops had no objection to "make the King virtually the *Head of their* "*Church*,—and that a Bishop appointed by the "Pope, if disapproved by his Majesty, should "not be *allowed to take upon himself his spi-* "*ritual functions*." These assertions, as they filled every one else who heard them with astonishment, so they pierced the writer's heart (who equally heard them, and on whose authority they were stated to be made) with grief and confusion. Indeed, the Rt. Hon. gentleman himself appeared conscious that he had *gone too far* in what he had said, and therefore, when he had concluded his speech, he sent for Lord Fingal and Dr. M. to meet him in the lobby of the House, where he asked them both the question *if he had not gone too far?* He has stated, on a subsequent occasion, that the Noble Lord answered him: "No you are quite exact."* "Certain it "is, that the writer hung his head down, and made no answer at all, being resolved early the

* See Keating's Revised Report of the Debates in 1810, page 139.

next morning to print a disvowal of the heterodox sentiments which had been ascribed to him on so solemn an occasion. This he performed in a Protest to this effect, dated May 26, copies of which he sent to the Catholic Prelates of Ireland and England and to many other persons, carrying one of them in his hand to Mr. Ponsonby. The Rt. Hon. Gentleman immediately said to him: "I am not surprized "at your alarm: I do not pretend that you "authorized me to say all that I did say: but I "was at liberty to argue as best suited my "cause. For the rest, this paper (the Protest) "is a fair paper, and you have my consent to "to circulate it."*—As to the historian's assertion, that "Lord Grenville made a proposal "of the Veto in the House of Lords, at the "suggestion of Dr. Milner,"† the latter is perfectly confident that his Lordship will flatly deny it if it be advanced in his hearing. The only communication Dr. M. ever had with that Nobleman, relating to the subject in question, was when he presented him with a copy of the Protest, and all that then passed consisted in his Lordship's objecting to the restriction on government proposed in that paper, namely, that its negative power should be confined to avowed civil grounds.

* See Orig. &c. p. 4. † P. 173.

SENTIMENTS OF THE IRISH PRELATES RELATIVE TO THE VETO.

The warm debates in Parliament on the Catholic Question, were followed in Ireland by a still warmer discussion of Mr. Ponsonby's unauthorized proposal, which all Catholics there disapproved of, and none so decidedly as the Catholic Bishops. Of this latter fact the writer received abundant evidence, in the letters which several of them addressed to him at this period, when the proposed *negative power* of the Crown, as it had hitherto been called, received the name of the *Veto*. But, independently of all such external evidence, the inconsistency of zealous Catholic Bishops agreeing to *make their King virtually the Head of their Church* must strike every reasonable person to whom it is mentioned, and of course the implied falsehood of the following title to one of the Historian's articles: "continued adherence of the Irish "Prelates to their Resolution of 1799 until the "meeting in September 1808."* True it is, they wisely abstained from publishing any thing on the momentous subject, till they could hold a General Meeting, to agree on the same *form of sound words* to be held by them concerning it: but in their conversation and cor-

* P. 182.

respondence, they universally disavowed Mr. Ponsonby's language, and regretted that the proposal of Government in 1799, with which the far greater part of them now became acquainted for the first time, had been acceded to.—In conclusion, the Prelates met in solemn synod at the Dominican's house in Dublin, and there, on the 14th of September in the above-mentioned year, having first agreed that "Dr. "Milner's account of his conduct as their "agent is satisfactory," they passed those two ever memorable Resolutions, equally expressive of their pastoral watchfulness and their civil loyalty, as follow:

"Resolved, that it is the decided opinion of "the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, here "assembled, that it is inexpedient to intro-"duce any alteration in the canonical mode, "hitherto observed, in the nomination of Ro-"man Catholic Bishops, which mode, by long "experience, has been proved to be unexcep-"tionable, wise, and salutary.

"Resolved, that the Roman Catholic Pre-"lates pledge themselves to adhere to the rule "by which they have been hitherto uniformly "guided: namely, to recommend to his Holi-"ness only such persons, as candidates for "vacant Bishoprics, as are of unimpeachable "loyalty and peaceable conduct."

THE WRITER'S SENTIMENTS RESPECTING THE VETO.

This subject is treated by the historian in a manner he knows to be the most offensive to the writer. The following is the title under which he introduces it: "Dr. M.'s Advocation of the Veto, in a pamphlet, intitled "*A Letter "to a Parish Priest.*" He then goes on: "In Dr. M. the Veto found both an able and "a zealous advocate."* Mr. Butler has been frequently assured, that the letter was not written as a serious advocation of any kind of Veto, but merely as a *mooting essay*, to use a lawyer's term, for the perusal of his friend, a Catholic Prelate of Ireland, who had written too sharply and indignantly to him on the subject. Only fifty copies of it were printed, and those were distributed exclusively among the higher order of the clergy, with the exception of a single copy given to Lord Fingal. One of these copies unfortunately fell into the hands of the writer's adversaries, who published it to his indescribable mortification. Rather than explain his essay, which he might have done, he not long after publicly retracted and condemned it.

The measure of a Royal Veto on the appointment of Catholic Bishops was precipi-

* Page 184.

tately brought forward by Mr. Ponsonby and his opposition friends in 1808, as an experiment to effect the emancipation ;* and the refusal of the Catholics to grant it, was taken up by Ministry as a pretext for withholding the desired relief. Certain it is, that neither party thought it of any real utility to the safety of the State ; as it was notorious that no class of subjects had given more pregnant proofs of their loyalty in the most trying times of public danger, both from without and within, than the Catholic Bishops.† On the other hand, they were evidently the best qualified persons, from their acquaintance with their clergy, to keep up the spirit of loyalty in their body. Nevertheless, as the measure was brought forward in Parlia-

* Mr. Whitbread, speaking in the Debate of 1810, concerning the Veto, said: " Its importance has been much " over-rated; I confess, I think it was prematurely brought " forward by my Rt. Hon. Friend. I do not believe it " made one convert to the cause of justice." Keating's Revised Report, p. 174.—Mr. Butler himself, in his address to the Catholics of Ireland in 1809, called the Veto " *a* " *mere make-weight*," adding: " If you are unable to gain " your cause without the Veto, you are unable to gain your " cause with it."

† The steady loyalty of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, and of their Clergy in general, was proved in the great Rebellion of 1798, at the invasion of Humbert, the threatened invasion of Hoche, and on many other occasions, on some of which it has been publicly acknowledged by Government.

ment, and, to the writer's great astonishment and mortification, grounded on his authority, he considered within himself by what means it might be effected, without violation of the Catholic discipline or danger to it. This he thought he had discovered, in the following checks on the exercise of the negative power. First, if this exercise were restrained to a due number of times, for example, to three times: secondly, if the name of one candidate only were proposed at a time (to prevent the virtual choice of a Catholic Bishop by an A-Catholic Ministry): thirdly and principally, if the Civil Power were confined to its own proper grounds, namely, to a care of loyalty and the public peace, in such manner, that if his Majesty's Ministers objected to any Catholic clergyman's becoming a Prelate, they should assign, as the reason of their objection, a well grounded doubt respecting the candidate's loyalty or peaceable disposition. Without this last restriction, it was easy to foresee that such Ministers as were then in power, Mr. Percival in England, and Dr. Duigenan in Ireland, would employ the new prerogative for the extirpation of the Catholic Religion. Such were the writer's fond speculations: but, in the end, he found them to be impracticable and vain, and he then heartily condemned his own folly, in having given his conditional consent to a

change of situation,* for the purpose of residing in the capital, with a view of bringing them to effect. In a word, he found the leading Catholics of Ireland jealous not only of their religious discipline, but also of the independency of their Prelacy, as the only remaining monument, as they called it, of their national freedom; and the Prelates themselves, from the best of motives, resolved to admit of no ecclesiastical change whatever. He found, on the other hand, the great Statesmen of both parties determined to admit of no restriction or modification of the proposed Veto whatsoever,†

* While these plans were on the carpet, certain leading Irish Prelates, being desirous that their agent should fix his residence in or near the seat of government, proposed to him to exchange his independent and comfortable situation, in the centre of the kingdom, for one the reverse of this, in London, by getting an exchange to be made between him and the Coadjutor of that District. A certain Protestant gentleman and Card. Erskine were also parties to this plan. The Prefect and Secretary at first approved of it; and Bishop D., when it was proposed to him, was far from being averse to it: but, having consulted with some of his friends, he declared strongly against it, greatly to the comfort and peace of mind of the writer. In return, his Holiness, by an indult under his own hand, now before the writer, granted him a dispensation to fix his residence in the capital.

† The personage, whose opinion he considered to be of the greatest weight in this business, explained the effect of the Veto, so as to make it exactly correspond with the *Congé d'élire*, by which Protestant Bishops are appointed.

and that a very considerable number of them required of us that we should *actively concur to the support of their Church,* as well as of our common State, and that the Veto, when obtained, was to be directed to this precise object. Now, though we are prepared to swear that *we will not attempt, by secret fraud or open force, to overturn or disturb the established Church,* yet, believing the separation of it from the Great Catholic Church, by Henry and Elizabeth, to have been *sinful,* we cannot actively promote that sin by any wilful deed of our own whatsoever. To add to the writer's trials, both the great political parties declared against him, because he could not go the lengths of either of them,* and they seemed to vie with each other

" I will suppose (he said) myself to be His Majesty's
" Minister, to whom you present a list of three candidates,
" whom your Prelates judge worthy of the vacant chair.
" Very likely I may say to you : neither Mr. A. nor Mr. B.
" nor Mr. C. is approved of, but if you choose Mr. F. he
" will be accepted of."

* A writer, supposed to be a member of the Ministry, about this time inserted a letter in *The Morning Post,* highly complimentary to Dr. M., and tempting him to deny that he had held any conference at all with Mr. Ponsonby. Dr. M. answered him in *The Morning Chronicle,* declaring the truth, namely, that *the conference had taken place,* but that he himself *had not said in it what he was reported to have said.* Both parties were equally offended, and united their obloquy against him, especially during the Debates of 1810.

which should abuse him most, both in Parliament and out of it. Still was he supported by the conviction, that His Majesty had not a more loyal subject than himself, nor the Church a more consistent Catholic, in as much as, in all his writings and negociations, he had uniformly adhered to the declaration which he made and published at the beginning of them, *rather to give his life, than to give any A-Catholic State or person a real power over any portion of the Catholic Church.* His conviction, as to the latter part of it, was confirmed by the judgment which he understood the Holy Father about this time passed upon it.*

FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC BOARD.

In the account which the writer gives of succeeding events, he follows, as nearly as he can, the order in which they took place: this the historian frequently inverts. In 1807 certain lay Catholics, to the exclusion of their clergy,

* The writer having, in the month of November 1808, published a letter in *The Morning Chronicle*, detailing at great length the plan which is sketched out above, some unknown person sent a copy of it to Rome, where it was translated into Italian, and much approved of by the Cardinals, and the Pope himself, who is reported to have said, that if any change of discipline was made for England, it should be on the plan traced out by Dr. M.

associated together as a literary club, for the purpose of defending their cause and religion against the shoals of pamphlets and paragraphs which the press poured out against them. It does not appear, however, that the Association produced any work in support of their learned pretension; and it is probable that the experienced gentleman who planned it, our present learned historian, intended it for nothing else but the nucleus of a new Catholic Committee, in which he preferred being an ostensible member and the secret director, to the more invidious office of public secretary. To fill this, he succeeded in withdrawing a gentleman of distinguished talents and family from the fairest prospects of his honourable profession, to the dullest and most irksome drudgery of an attorney's clerk. Accordingly this new Committee formed itself the following year upon a larger scale, and with a more ample supply of ways and means, under the name of *The Catholic Board*. The writer was applied to from different parts of England, by the most respectable Catholics, for his advice, whether they should join the Board or not? And his answer was given, though with doubts and fears, in the affirmative. In fact, it was too much to hope, as the writer then did, that the surviving and unreclaimed members of the old Committee, with their Secretary, the author of the Blue

Books, who were now the leading members of the Board, would be actuated by a different spirit from that by which they had hitherto been led. No doubt the Society comprehends many orthodox, good and pious Catholics, but experience proves that they have not the means of preventing or opposing the heterodox or irreligious Resolutions of the Board itself.* How far they are individually answerable for these, will one day appear. In the meantime it is necessary to observe, that the list of names set down in the Historical Memoirs, as members of the Board,† is swelled out with those of the dead, with those of all the Catholic Peers of Ireland, with those of Vicars Apostolic who never consented to belong to the Board,‡ and

* Among these are to be reckoned their different resolutions and contributions in support of the schismatical Bill of 1813, with the distinct thanks to the several parliamentary movers of the schismatical clauses; their published censure on one of their Apostolic Vicars, for his exertions in saving them from schism; their thanks and pecuniary grant to J. J. D——, Esq. for his heterodox publications; their continued support of the Blue Book writer; their institution of the Catholic Bible Society, and suppression of Bishop Challoner's notes in their stereotype Testament, &c.

† Vol. II, p. 498.

‡ The writer having signified by letter to his friend, Dr. John Chisholm, V. A. of the Highlands, that, in quality of Member of the Board, he was answerable for such and such of their schismatical resolutions, the latter answered,

even with that of one such Vicar Apostolic, who was expelled from it by public advertisement.* In addition to the printed names, it is added that "every Catholic clergyman resident in "Great Britain" † is a member of the Board; a circumstance which nineteen in every twenty of them never heard of, and would disavow if they did hear of it, especially on being informed of the above-mentioned Resolutions.

THE FIFTH RESOLUTION.

This our historian entitles, at the head of his article on the subject, "the *conciliatory* "resolution of the English Catholics," a re-

"neither I nor my brother (the present V. A.) ever autho-
"rized any person to make us members of the Board,
"and therefore we are not answerable for its doings."

* It is alleged that the writer is not dismissed from the General Board, but only from that superior Board to which his brethren are associated!—N.B. The learned author begins his history of the Board with a lofty panegyric on a noble Baron, and an honourable Baronet, both deceased, who, he says, "for half a century had a principal part in directing "the exertions of the English Catholics for the repealing "of the penal laws, and were his friends." How far these circumstances exalt the panegyric, will be judged by the nature of those exertions, as stated in this Supplement. If they were so laudable as the historian supposes them to have been, he has done a manifest injustice to himself, as *the principal director* of them.

† P. 191.

solution which separated the Irish from the English Catholics, divided the last-mentioned among themselves, carried discord into the bosom of the sanctuary, distressed the See Apostolic beyond description, and, at length, brought forth the persecuting and schismatical Bill of 1813. In short, this pretended *conciliatory* measure has caused more dissention and mischief among the Catholics of England, than any other measure (not excepting King James's oath and Mr. Butler's protestation) since the divorce of Henry VIII. from his Queen Catharine. The historian gives us to understand, what indeed we should otherwise believe, that he was a party to the framing of the Fifth Resolution,* especially where he "invokes the "testimony of every one present at the meet-"ings (where it was framed), that they were "most anxious to frame it in such terms as "should not be thought objectionable by the "Irish Prelates:"† this also will be readily believed. But how a man of his experience, being also a Catholic, should undertake "to "allay a ferment" among five millions of people, by modifying the synodical resolution of a whole national Prelacy, on the strength of his own judgment and skill in theology; and how he

* P. 102.

† Mr. Butler's *Letter to an Irish Catholic Gentleman*, p. 12.

should profess to "hold *most sacred* the pledge," which he and his Board had just before given to the Catholics of Ireland "to adopt no "measure affecting the general interest with-"out their concurrence;"* when it is notorious that the latter, one and all, bishops, priests, and people, the instant they heard of the Fifth Resolution, proclaimed that they were *betrayed*, and broke off all connection with him and his friends; these things would surpass belief, if they had not actually taken place before our eyes. The historian's account of this business, as might be expected, is obscure and defective: the present writer will endeavour to furnish one clear and full.

The synodical Resolution of the Irish Prelates, September 14, 1808, as to the "inexpe-"diency of making any alteration in the exist-"ing discipline of the Catholic Church of Ire-"land," could not fail of proving most embarrassing to those Protestant Statesmen, who had founded their plan of a *civil emancipation* on the ruins of our *religious freedom*, and equally mortifying to those Catholics, who were anxious to purchase the former at any price whatever of the latter. Accordingly it was concerted between the parties to get rid of that Resolution at the approaching session of Parliament

* P. 103.

in 1810; when the present writer accidentally caused the scheme to explode sooner than was generally intended. Having complained in a weekly publication, under the signature of his initials, of the persecution of the Catholic soldiers of Sir John Moore's army in Spain, then going on under the auspices of Mr. Percival; he lamented also the perseverance of the advocates of emancipation, in urging what he termed "those useless and vexatious restrictions upon "it," which he foretold (but in terms not sufficiently respectful) would drive the Irish to a choice of evils between them and their adversaries. Inquiry was made from a high quarter, whether or no the writer would disavow the letter? He apologized for its offensive terms, but maintained its sentiments, when, in less than a fortnight from the date of it, appeared Lord Grenville's celebrated *Letter,* dated Jan. 25, *to the Earl of Fingal,* which from the public declarations of Lord Grey, Lord Erskine, and his other friends in its favour, was called by Ministry *The Creed of the Party.** It is of consequence to attend to the terms and sentiments of this letter, because the important Fifth Resolution being an extract of the essential part of it, the former throws a blaze of

* See Secretary Ryder (Lord Harrowby's) Speech, in Keating's revised Report, p. 131.

light on the latter.—What, then, says the letter? His Lordship having premised that his "decision had been taken in concurrence with "some of the most distinguished advocates of "the Catholic cause," says: "with the just "and salutary extension of civil rights to your "(the Catholic) body, must be combined other "*extensive* and *complicated arrangements*. All "due provision must be made for the inviolable *maintenance of our religious* and civil "*establishments*. Among other measures, I "pointed out the proposal of *vesting in the* "*crown an effectual negative* on the appointment of your Bishops. That adequate arrangements may be made for all these purposes, consistently with the strictest adherence, on your part, to your religious tenets, "is the persuasion you have long been labouring to establish. Were it otherwise, I should, "indeed, despair. But that these objects may "be reconciled, in so far as respects *the appointment of Bishops*, is known with undeniable "certainty."

In the course of three days after the publication of this letter, the learned gentleman, with two or three of his lay friends, is found, from his own confession,* treating with Lord

* *Letter to an Irish Gentleman*, by C. B. Esq. N.B. No sooner were the contents of this letter known in Ireland,

Grenville and Lord Grey, on a proposition to be brought forward at a Meeting of English Catholics, fixed for Feb. 1, in support of the above-quoted letter, and in contravention to the Resolution of the Irish Bishops. The proposition which he then *adopted,* as "perfectly "reasonable and free from objection,"* *on the part of the whole Catholic body* of both islands, but without an atom of authority from any individual, ecclesiastic or layman, among them, was this: "the Catholics are *ready to enter into* "*any arrangement,* consistent with their faith "and discipline, which may be required of "them for securing the loyalty of persons to "be raised to the rank or office of Bishops." It does not appear to have struck the learned historian, that the very term "the Catholics are "ready to enter into arrangements respecting "the appointment of their Bishops," whether by CATHOLICS is to be understood all the men, women, and children of the Catholic communion, or only himself and his few friends, are themselves *inconsistent with Catholic discipline;* for where has Christ or his Church given them authority to arrange ecclesiastical disci-

than the writer's prediction was verified. The Committee met, and voted to reject the able advocacy of its noble author. P. 10. Here the historian essentially falsifies the terms of the Resolution.

* Ibid.

pline? Such, however, was *The Fifth Resolution* in its first form, and such it would have been proposed at the Meeting of February 1st, had not a Gentleman, who had lent himself as Secretary to the Board, and who in that quality had pledged himself to the Irish Catholics that the hated Veto would not be brought forward at the English Meeting, declared that *he could not in honour consent to the resolution in that form,* and had he not threatened to resign his situation, if the Resolution were not altered. In consequence of this opposition, and after much negociation, the formula was changed on the very day preceding the Meeting, for another more conformable *to the words* of his Lordship's letter, but of the *self same meaning* with the former. The terms now adopted, after a useless preamble, were these: "*We,* whose "names are underwritten, *Roman Catholics of* "*England,*—are firmly persuaded that ade- "quate *provision for the maintenance* of the "civil and *Religious establishments* of this king- "dom may *be made, consistently with the strict- "est adherence* on their part, to the *tenets and* "*discipline of the Roman Catholic Religion*; and "that *any arrangements,* founded on this basis "of mutual satisfaction and security, and "extending to them the full enjoyment of the "civil constitution of their country, *will meet* "*with their grateful concurrence.*" The *broad*

sense of this Resolution was evidently to express a readiness to accept of the Veto, and its object evidently was to nullify the synodical determination of the Irish Bishops: but as the learned historian insists on its being tried by *the precise terms of it*, the present writer maintains that, if the terms, printed above in Italics be examined by any sound Catholic divine, he will pronounce first, that *the Roman Catholics of England, promiscuously taken, are not competent to declare their judgment as to what is or is not consistent with the tenets of the Catholic Religion:* secondly, that no assembly of Bishops, nor even the Pope himself, is capable of pronouncing that *provisions to be made for the maintenance of the Religions establishments of the country, will be consistent with the Catholic tenets and discipline*, before it is known what these provisions will be.—N. B. 1°. The last Act of the Legislature for this purpose confirms the preceding Acts, by which all subjects of any respectability are required to receive the Protestant Sacrament.*—N. B. 2°. Among the existing Religious establishments of this kingdom, there is one for buying up the children of poor Catholics, and educating them in the Protestant Charter schools;

* 10 Anne, c. 2. An Act for preserving the Protestant Religion, by better securing the Church of England.

and there is another for paying £40 yearly to every Catholic Priest, conforming to the established religion.—Lastly, every such Catholic divine will decide that, *be the future provision and arrangements ever so consistent with Catholic faith and discipline in themselves, no Catholic can, with a safe conscience, give his grateful concurrence, or any concurrence at all, to them, for the purpose assigned in the Resolution,* namely, *for the maintenance of the Religious establishments of this kingdom.*—However, the historian and his two or three friends having pledged themselves to this Resolution, their business now was to get as many English Catholics as they could, and especially their Bishops, to pledge themselves to the same, with the ultimate view of getting it accepted of by the Catholics of Ireland.

THE TAVERN MEETINGS.

The object of the first of these meetings was to get over the present writer's assent to the Resolution, and there can be no doubt that the business was planned by the same learned gentleman, who, in 1790, invited the leading priests of London to a dinner at the Portland Tavern, in order to gain their signatures to the Committee's Oath. Having arrived in London from Staffordshire, on Tuesday, January 30th, the writer received, early the next morning, a

note from a Right Hon. personage, inviting him to dine with him that day, to meet some of his Dorsetshire friends. It was added, however, in the note, that the place of dining was not then fixed, but might be learnt by noon, at such and such places. At length, he understood it was fixed at Doran's Hotel, in Dover Street, the then residence of a respected Catholic Baronet, of Yorkshire. He afterwards met the Secretary of the Board, who told him that he should be at the dinner, but never signified that any business was to be settled at it; hence he continued in his vain persuasion that the invitation was a mark of civility and respect towards him. It is necessary to mention, that the writer considered it as his principal business, on that first day of his arrival in London, to wait on his brother Vicar Apostolic of the District, in order to act in concert with him, for the safety of the common Religion, as he understood that some new measure, though he did not know precisely what, was in agitation concerning it. He was happy to find the Bishop's Coadjutor Prelate in company with him, when, on his mentioning that some fresh engagement or Resolution was to be brought forward, at the meeting of the next day, the latter spoke with great energy against it, affirming that our Oath of Allegiance was a sufficient pledge for our principles and conduct, (N.B. a

copy of the Fifth Resolution, in its first shape, was then lying on the table before him), nor did his energy relax, when a Reverend gentleman* brought into the room a copy of the Resolution in its second form, as settled that very morning, which he had just received from the Secretary. The writer, agreeing with the Prelate in his sentiments, had no occasion to say more than this: "very well, let us then "stick to that;" he added, however, in leaving the room, "at all events, let us Prelates act in "concert on this occasion;" which sentiment the Right Rev. Coadjutor confirmed in terms still more emphatical than he had employed on the former subject.

Proceeding to the hotel in Dover Street, the writer met there at dinner, besides the Northern Baronet, two Catholic Peers, the Secretary of the Board, and several Catholic gentlemen of distinction; still, however, supposing himself to be the guest of a mere convivial party. But the dinner was no sooner removed, and the waiters withdrawn, than the Secretary stood up and read aloud the Resolutions prepared for the next day's meeting, when several voices at once asked the writer, "Dr. M. will you sign "these Resolutions?" He then perceived the object of this extraordinary dinner, and though

* The Rev. Mr. Chamberlaine.

taken by surprise, yet as he clearly saw the Veto in its most hideous form, couched in the Fifth and last of the Resolutions, he immediately answered that he could not sign that particular Resolution. Much altercation on the subject took place, in the course of which the writer maintained, among other things, that *the signing of the Fifth Resolution by English Catholics would infallibly commit them with the Catholics of Ireland.* He was answered by an assertion, that *the case of the former stood on different grounds from that of the latter;* to which he replied, that, at all events, *Catholic Bishops ought to hold the same language on a business of Religion all the world over.* He was next interrogated whether, *in case he were a mere English Vicar Apostolic, and not agent for the Irish Prelates, he would sign the Resolution?* To this he answered, that *he hoped to give an answer on this point, in common with his English brethren,* trusting to the engagements entered into that morning.—He was then desired to promise that *he would not use any arguments to influence the opinions of his English brethren;* which proposal he indignantly rejected; saying, that, *when he met his brethren, he would use such arguments as his conscience dictated.* In conclusion, one of the company cried out, "*May "I sign the Resolution?*" to whom the writer, not by way of solving a case of conscience

(for it is not over wine, and in promiscuous companies, that conscientious Catholics ask for spiritual advice), but merely to put an end to an importunate interrogatory, knowing, at the same time, that this lay personage's signature could have no effect in altering the discipline of the Church, while the Bishops continued firm in supporting it, as he had then reason to suppose they all would, he briefly answered, " you may " sign it if you will." Had the question, instead of the former, been, " *may I sign a deed* " *conveying away your land in Staffordshire?* the writer would have given the same answer, " you may sign it if you will;" adverting, in this case, to the inefficacy of the signature, not to the morality of it. There is a necessity of detailing the particulars of this Tavern conversation to contemporaries, and of consigning them to posterity, as they have been so grossly and repeatedly misrepresented, both at home and at Rome.*

* The gross misrepresentation of the writer's answer to the second question, put to him at the Theologico-political dinner, at Doran's Hotel, will be seen in the subsequent account of the St. Alban's Tavern meeting. That his answer to the fourth question, put to him at the dinner, was not less grossly misrepresented to Mgr. Quarantotti's mutilated Propaganda, appears by the following extract from one of its official instruments, apparently grounded on that misrepresentation: " Lagnavasi questi che Mgr. M. tanto in voce che con le

On Thursday, February 1st, 1810, the ever to be lamented Meeting of about a hundred Catholics, took place at the St. Alban's Tavern: the chief object of which was to procure signatures to the Fifth Resolution. Seeing the Coadjutor Prelate enter the room, together with the Western V. A., who had but just before arrived in town, the writer made up to them, and asked them, "Will you sign this Resolution?" They answered, "no." He then asked the former, "Do you act for your Bishop (who was too "infirm to attend the meeting), as well as your-"self?" he answered, "yes." The three brethren then sat down together, and, during an hour or more, spoke and acted in concert with each other. The business of the first or

"stampi, li sereditasse et infirmasse, come *schismatici*, per "aver sottoscritta la detta Quinta Resolutione. Remanevano "pero sorpresi come M. M. avesse coragio di opporsi tanto "al Veto del Re, quando prima n' era sempre stato il sos-"teni tore. Quin imo (cosi scrivano) ille ipse D. M. *pridie* "*istius diei illud salvâ conscientiâ à Catholicis accipi posse*, "*multisfide dignis testibus audientibus, consultus statuit;* "*idemque consilium, eo ipso die* 10 *Feb; iterum consultus* "*dedit.*" It is difficult to conceive a more dishonourable and immoral conduct than that of Mgr. Quarantotti's informants, in representing the writer to him, as deciding at the public dinner in Dover Street, in favour of the Fifth Resolution, when they knew full well what disgrace he incurred with the heads of the dinner party, from that day forwards, for having so firmly opposed it!

General Petition being settled, when *The Accompanying Petition,* as it was called, or *The Fifth Resolution* was brought forward, the writer heard just the same kind of glosses, protestations, and promises in its favour, from different orators, as he had heretofore been accustomed to hear in defence of the condemned oath, all which he knew would be dispersed in air the moment after they were uttered, while the *littera scripta* of the subscribers would remain, as a pledge for their concurring in the arrangements alluded to in the Resolution. Among other censurable speeches then delivered, one of them, uttered by a priest, was of so heterodox a nature, accompanied with a challenge to the Prelates to contradict him, if what he said were wrong, that the writer proposed to his brethern to adjourn immediately to the house of the absent Bishop, there to consider of the whole business, and to take measures accordingly. The Coadjutor answered, that the next day would be time enough, and fixed on eleven o'clock as the hour for the synod. This Right Rev. Prelate having published an account of what he said in the Tavern, on the main business there transacted, with an appeal to the persons present, for their testimony as to its accuracy, the writer will here transcribe his own words : " I thought it my duty to address the " Chair, before the Fifth Resolution was put to

" the votes of the assembly. I then begged leave " to observe, that this Resolution *would pro-* " *bably involve in its consequences questions that* " *would affect the spiritual interests of all the* " *four Districts,* and which, consequently, " must be referred to the judgment of the four " Vicars Apostolic. I then proposed it to the " consideration of the Chair, and of the com- " pany, whether it would not be advisable to " wait for the signatures of the Vicars Apos- " tolic until Bishop G. could come up to " town."* On this short, but important speech, the present writer cannot refrain from making the following obvious remarks. 1st: If the consequences of the Resolution *might affect spiritual interests,* they *might* consequently *injure them.*—2dly: If they might affect the spiritual interests of the four *English Districts,* they might equally affect those of the *Church of Ireland;* and accordingly the writer moved that the business of the Resolution should be adjourned, till the synodical decision of the Irish Bishops, which was fixed for that day week, was known: his motion, however, was overruled.—3dly: If the questions involved in the consequences of the Resolution, ought to " be referred to the judgment of the four V. V. " A.," this was a sufficient reason, not only why

* See the printed *Letter to the Rev. J. M., V. A.*, p. 2.

none of the latter ought to sign it, till they had consulted together concerning it, but also why no consistent lay Catholic ought to sign it previously to the decision of the Bishops.—4thly: The Prelate who saw that *spiritual interests*, &c. might *probably be affected* by the Resolution, so far from being justified in signing it by the alleged defection of one of his brethren, would not be justified in doing this, though all the three others had abandoned him, and actually signed the perilous instrument. To be brief: the two Prelates joined with the writer, in *voting* against the motion for signing the Resolution; yet, strange to tell, within half an hour afterwards, while he was engaged in conversation in another part of the room (without waiting for the synod, which they had agreed to next day on the business, without even consulting with the absent Vicar Apostolic, for whom one of them said he was acting), they suffered themselves to be over-reached and over-persuaded, so as to affix their names to the fatal instrument!—As they have jointly published their motives for this sudden change of conduct, they will speak for themselves, in the following words, addressed to the present writer: "The declaration (of a Noble Lord) "gave the greatest satisfaction to me and "Bishop C., yet, for the sake of obtaining the "concurrence of the four V. V. A., we wished

" to wait the arrival of Bishop G. (who was " not then expected, and who at that time, and " for several days afterwards, was quite as " averse to the Resolution as the writer was), " and thus did not hold up our hands, when " the Resolution was put to the votes. A " Noble Lord beckoned to me, and told me, " that you (Dr. M.) had declared, in his pre- " sence in public company, on the last day " of January, that you would not act in this " business as V. A. of the Midland District: " but that you should only act as agent of the " Bishops of Ireland: and he asked me what " was to be done? If this information was " correct, and I had every reason to believe " that it was strictly so, having also heard " it from others, who were present the day " before, when you made this declaration, our " design of waiting for the united concurrence " of the four V. V. was defeated by you, &c."* To this Tavern tale, on which these grave personages represent themselves to have grounded the most important act of their Ministry, the writer opposes a solemn protestation, that it is not only false, but also destitute of a pretence to justify its falsity. Besides this, he was present in the room when the beckoning took place,

* See the printed *Letter to the Rev. J. M., V. A.*, p. 2.

and the tale was whispered: of course he might have been asked in a minute: *Is it true, that you will not act in this business as a V. A?* In which case, he would most assuredly have held an open language, that would have shamed the whispers into perfect silence. Lastly, if the Midland Pastor had abandoned his post, this was no reason why the two other Pastors should do the same; as the question avowedly was concerning the spiritual *interests of their Districts*.—But the real cause of these good men's change has been assigned above: they were over-reached and over-persuaded,* a misfortune that has befallen many other good Pastors, even in Synods, as witness St. Dyonisius at Ariminium. With respect to the writer, he was so ignorant of what had been doing in another part of the room, that seeing his brethren leaving it, he called after them: "Remember to-morrow at eleven o'clock;" and when their signatures were afterwards shewn to him, for the purpose of extorting his, he for a considerable time believed and maintained that they were forgeries.

* In confirmation of the cause here assigned, it may be mentioned, that one of the most active gentlemen in soliciting the signatures of the Prelates, meeting the writer a day or two after the Tavern-meeting, addressed him as follows: "Do not be angry with your brethren; they resisted as long "as they could, but *we jockeyed them*."

A third Tavern meeting of Catholics took place at the Clarendon Hotel, on the evening of the same 1st of February, where some unpleasant scenes took place, none of which, however, need be recorded in these Memoirs, except the following.—A Northern gentleman, exceedingly intimate with a Noble Earl, who at that time was expected, every day, to be appointed Secretary of the State, detailed to the writer the plan of a Veto, on the appointment of English V. V. A., which he had formed on the model of Sir J. Hippisley's Vetoistical project, on the appointment of Irish Catholic Bishops. He mentioned, at the same time, that it had been communicated to the expected Secretary, who agreed with the gentleman, that it would be proper to settle £500 per annum on each of the V. V. A, on their agreeing to it. To this proposal the writer answered roughly: "I do "not approve of your plan, and I do not want "your money." This answer provoked the gentleman to call out to him across the table, at dinner time: "You will not take our £500 "a year, because you expect £1,000 a year "from Ireland." He afterwards proceeded to greater coarseness. An erroneous account of this conversation having gone abroad, caused certain respectable personages, first in a Newspaper, and afterwards, by Sir J. Hippisley's

voice in the House of Commons,* to disclaim their being in any treaty with Government for money, in terms which insinuated that the writer was implicated in such a treaty.

The morning after the fatal 1st of February, the infirm London Vicar was easily prevailed upon, without so much as hearing what his old friend and tried counsellor might suggest in opposition, to sign the Resolution. Still the number of English Prelates on each side of the question was balanced; there being two V. V. A. and a Coadjutor in favour of the Resolution, and the same number against it: for it is to be observed, that Bishop G., during the whole time that he remained in the North, and for some time after his arrival in London, that is, till about the middle of February, was among the enemies of every kind of Veto, or other ecclesiastical restriction, the most

* This gentleman asserted in the Newspapers, and afterwards in a pamphlet, that the writer heretofore solicited money from Government: True, he sent up a Memorial to Lord Grenville, when first Lord of the Treasury, and this, by the advice of a noble relative of his, *in the name, and with the concurrence of the other V. V. A.*, stating the ruinous losses which the officiating clergy of England had suffered by the French Revolution, and praying for aid, in support of our domestic colleges: but never did he either seek, or wish for any money for himself, either from Government, or his own body.

determined. He never ceased reproaching the writer with what he had formerly written concerning the most restricted kind of negative. In fact, his maxim was, as he expressed it in his letters: "It is better to have no emancipation "at all, than one clogged with conditions." Having understood that there was a question of joining some kind of accompanying Petition to the General Petition, he wrote thus, to the Secretary, to the present writer, and to others: "Take notice, that if any thing is added to "our Petition (the General one) all our signa- "tures (those of the North) are withdrawn." When he learnt that some of his brethren had signed the Fifth Resolution, and that the writer had refused to do so, he lamented, by letter, the former event, and expressed his hope that the Irish Prelates, by their firmness, would prevent the mischief which it might otherwise occasion; and he even claimed to himself the merit of the latter event in these terms, addressed to the writer: "It was I that rallied "you, and brought you back to your post."—It is still more difficult to account for this zealous and worthy Prelate's change of conduct, after he came to London, in his signing the Resolution, which he had so strongly reprobated, than for that of any of his brethren. It has been asserted, on good authority, that those *jockeying*

gentlemen, by whom his lodgings were generally besieged, made him believe, that *the change of ministry, the welfare, and the very safety of the nation, depended on his compliance with their wishes:* all that his friend, the present writer, could extort from him, when the secret transaction became, at length, known, was that, "Lord "Grey had explained the Resolution in a cer- "tain sense," contrary to that which we are going to see he did explain it in, when he presented it to the House of Lords.—In addition to the reasons assigned above, for the writer's being so diffuse on this subject of the St. Alban's Tavern meeting, may be added, the defective and erroneous account of it given by the historian, and his insinuation against the writer, where he says: "At a numerous meet- "ing of the British R. Catholics, the Resolu- "tion was, with the single exception of the "V. A. of the Midland District, the agent of "the Irish Prelates, unanimously adopted."*

PRESENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The following is the most material part of our historian's account of this transaction. "On "the 23d (say the 22d) of the same month of "February, this petition (containing the Re-

* Page 191.

" solution) was presented to the House of " Lords by Earl Grey. In this single circum- " stance the part which the English Roman " Catholics (or any individual of their commu- " nion) took in the Veto began, with this it " ended!—The propriety of this Resolution be- " came a subject of controversy. We leave " the language to speak for itself. It is *a mere* " *general expression of good humour,* &c. This " was perfectly understood and has been *re-* " *peatedly declared by every person present at* " *the meeting:*" namely, that between the Lords Grenville and Grey, on one hand, and Mr. Butler and his friends, on the other.* What Lord Grenville's sense of the Resolution was, has been demonstrated above, by referring to the explicit words of his Lordship's published Letter to the Earl of Fingal, and this sense his Lordship confirmed in terms equally explicit, on presenting to the House of Peers the Waterford Petition, on the 8th of March following. It remains to see how far the other noble framer of the Resolution, Earl Grey, has declared his sense of it to correspond with that of the historian, where the latter terms it *a mere general expression of good humour,* and with that of several respectable subscribers of it, who maintain that it is nothing but *a compliment,* or

* P. 195.

*an offer to treat with the Legislature on terms of mutual satisfaction and security.** The following is the report of Earl Grey's speech, as published in the British Press, the Board's feed paper, on the morning after it was pronounced; with which account that of his Lordship's favoured print, the Morning Chronicle, agrees. "I have the satisfaction of *being authorized* to "add, that while they (the Catholics) pray for "relief, they are willing to accept it, accom- "panied with such provisions, *not contrary to* "*their feelings,* as *you may think* necessary to "the *security of your own establishment,* and "that any *arrangement on this basis* will be "thankfully *accepted by them.* The declara- "tion of what I have stated is *contained in the* "*Second Petition* (consisting of the Fifth Reso- "lution) which I have presented to your Lord- "ships. It was adopted lately at a Meeting "in the Metropolis, and is signed by several "Bishops, and by no less than six Peers. It "is on the principle stated in this petition "alone, and *with a view to arrangements such* "*as I have described,* that the measure has my "support. In extending to them the enjoy- "ment of civil liberty, I consider it as not "existing in an exemption from all restraint

* See Lord Erskine's speech in 1810. Revised Reports, pp. 45, 46, where he says: "the Legislature never treats "with subjects."

" whatever, but from all restraint other than " *what the common interest and safety of our* " *own Establishments essentially and indispen-* " *sably require.* With regard to other consi- " derations, I am content to refer myself to " the excellent letter of my noble friend (Lord " Grenville's to the Earl of Fingal), *to every* " *letter, principle and word of which I beg to* " *be considered as implicitly subscribing.*"—On this view of the original, unalloyed speech of the noble advocate of the Catholics, the first question that presents itself for inquiry is this: is the noble Earl to be believed, when he tells the House of Peers that he is *authorized* by the Catholics, or by some of them, to say for them what he does say? It is presumed that no decent person will dispute his Lordship's honour in this point.—The next question is, what did they *authorize him to say?*—Why, that they are willing to accept of relief, *accompanied with such provisions as a Protestant Legislature may think necessary for the security of its own established Church,* provided these are consistent (not with the *decisions of their Bishops and the Pope* but) with their own *feelings,* or *sense of honour.* Thirdly, his Lordship positively declares, that this is the meaning of the Resolution which he presents to his assembled compeers, and certainly he must be allowed to be the best judge of his own composition.—Lastly,

he *subscribes to every principle and word* of his noble friend's letter to Lord Fingal, which requires "extensive and complicated arrangements" of our religion, to be made by the civil power, *for the maintenance of the established Protestant Religion*, and, among other arrangements, an "*effectual negative on the appointment of Catholic Bishops.*" And all this the subscribers explain into *a mere compliment!* and the historian publishes, in the face of the noble Lords who heard Lord Grey, and read Lord Grenville's Letter, that it is "a mere expression of good humour!"

FALSIFICATION OF LORD GREY'S SPEECH.

It was readily conceived how much the vast majority of those who had signed the Fifth Resolution, as well as of Catholics in general, would be shocked at reading the fair exposition which its noble author gave of it, on presenting it to the House of Lords: hence the little party who respected it as their charter, and were resolved to abide by its consequences, whatever these might be, found themselves driven to the disgraceful expedient of the Blue Book writers, that of falsifying a public record! *The British Press*, though the feed paper of this party, had given on the morning of Feb. 23d, a fair report of Lord Grey's Speech, de-

livered the preceding evening to the Lords, and this report was confirmed by that of his Lordship's print, *The Morning Chronicle;* but, whereas *The Globe* is the self-same newspaper as *The Press,* barely changing its name, and with such alterations as may seem requisite between an evening and a morning edition, that part of Lord Grey's speech which regards the Resolution was found curtailed and essentially altered in the evening edition, namely, *The Globe,* from what it had appeared in the morning edition, or *The British Press,* and the Report of *The Globe* itself was still more essentially altered in two neat folio editions of it, which the party successively gave under the title of *R. Catholic Petitions,* &c. 1810. In these the condition of our *willingness* to accede to *provisions for securing the Protestant Religion,* namely, that "*they are not contrary* "*to our feelings,*" is thus changed: provided they are "*consistent with a strict adherence on* "*their part to the tenets and discipline of the* "*R. Catholic Religion.*" The important circumstance mentioned by Lord Grey, of the Resolution having been "signed by several "Bishops (*The Morning Chronicle* says five "out of six Bishops) and six Peers," is, with equal caution, suppressed in the editions of the Board; to pass over several other omissions or alterations, in the latter, Lord Grey's ener-

getic declaration, of his *subscribing to every principle and word of Lord Grenville's letter,* is totally suppressed,and, what greatly aggravates the imposture of these publications, they profess in their title to give Lord Grey's Speech "as reported in *The Globe!*"—The writer was told by a well informed M.P. that application was made to Lord Grey, requesting him to alter his speech, and that his Lordship answered *he could not alter matter of fact;* upon which the personages in question took the disgraceful task of falsifying it into their own hands.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE RESOLUTION IN IRELAND.

The effects of our historian's "Conciliatory "Resolution," or, as he afterwards calls it, "the mere general expression of good humour," must now be pursued to the sister-island. There is no question but that the first and main object of the Resolution was to conciliate the Catholics of Ireland, by bringing off the Bishops, with their clergy, and also the laity, from their strong opposition to the subjugation of their religious rights, to the civil power of the state. Accordingly, no doubt was entertained, that if an English Catholic meeting were to adopt the ambiguous long-winded Resolution, concerted for this meaning, the Irish

Catholics would follow the example, and thus pledge themselves to consent to those "complicated arrangements," including "the "effectual negative on the appointment of their "Bishops," which were considered as the *sine qua non* of Emancipation, and wagers were actually laid at the St. Alban's Tavern, that the Resolution there signed would be followed with these effects. So far, however, from this proving to be the case, all Ireland was up in arms, as soon as the tenor of the alleged *Conciliatory Resolution* became known there. The Dublin Committee summoned the Aggregate Meeting, which they had countermanded on being officially assured by the English Board, under date of January 26, that "the latter "would adopt no measure but as auxiliary to "the more effectual exertions of the Catholics "of Ireland, as in England (it was added) the "Catholics are not the people;" the Bishops equally resumed their plan of a General Synod, which they had laid aside on the same account, and from *Cape Clear* to *The Giant's Causeway* nothing was heard but that "the English Ca- "tholics had betrayed their brethern of Ire- "land." Impatient as the Committee was to express their feelings and determinations, yet, with a proper Catholic spirit, they deferred their Meeting till the Bishops should decide on the religious part of the business at issue. Ac-

cordingly, these truly vigilant and faithful Prelates, being assembled together at Dublin, to the number of fifteen, and furnished with the proxies of the remaining twelve of their number, on Saturday the 24th, and Monday the 26th of February, " invoking Christ (they " say), and having only God before our eyes," passed seventeen Resolutions, well worthy of them, on the state and dangers of their Churches. They assert their claim to discuss and decide upon subjects of Religion, without any lay intervention: they confirm their Resolutions of September 14, 1808: they prove themselves to be strictly loyal, at the same time that they vindicate the rights of the Apostolic See and their own rights in the choice and appointment of Catholic Bishops. Two other Resolutions of the Prelates, the one passed on the 24th, the other on the 26th of February, require to be cited at full length.

" Resolved, that we neither seek nor desire " any other earthly consideration for our Spiri- " tual Ministry to our respective flocks, save " what they may, from a sense of religion and " duty, voluntarily afford us."

" Resolved, that the thanks of this Meeting " be, and are hereby given to the Right Rev. " Dr. Milner, Bishop of Castabala, for the " faithful discharge of his duty, as agent to the " Roman Catholic Bishops of this part of the

" United Kingdom, and more particularly for
" his Apostolical firmness in dissenting from
" and opposing a general, vague, and indefinite
" declaration or Resolution, pledging the R.
" Catholics to an eventual acquiescence in ar-
" rangements, possibly prejudical to the inte-
" grity and safety of our Church discipline.

" Signed, by order,

" P. RYAN,

" Bishop of Germanicia, Secretary."

OPPOSITION IN ENGLAND TO THE ACTS OF THE IRISH SYNOD.

When the foregoing Resolutions became known to the principal laymen and ecclesiastics who had signed that of the St. Alban's Tavern, it is incredible what pains they took to conceal them from the knowledge of the public, and more particularly of the English Catholics, especially the seventeenth or last of them. This attempt, however, in the end, failing, each of those descriptions of Catholics had recourse to a distinct method of nullifying that Resolution, of the most extraordinary nature. The first of these consisted in an attempt to *bully* the whole Catholic Prelacy of Ireland into a *base* and *immoral* disavowal of their solemn Synodical act, by testifying that their vote of thanks to their agent was a *forgery*. For this purpose, a letter, post-marked March 17, was sent to them, in

the name of the Board of all the Catholics of Britain, first inquiring whether Dr. M. was their agent? and then qualifying the vote of thanks to him, on the part of twenty-seven Bishops: *a libel, an awkward attempt of malice,* published *to forward dangerous views and scandals.** The letter-writer then, on the part of the British Catholics, professes to "anticipate "the sentiments of the Bishops," as "to the "author of so much malice," and their "impatience to contradict" the alleged vote; adding, that "any delay, on their part," in furnishing the anticipated declaration, "must "prove injurious to the character and interest "of Dr. M. himself, who, as long," it is said, "as he continues exposed to such uncontradicted libels, will be precluded from holding "any communication with his Catholic countrymen." It is added, "the line we have "now adopted is entirely consonant with the "wishes of our public friends, and particularly "of Lord N." It is needless to mention what the answer of the Catholic Bishops, men, not less honourable than they were conscientious,

* The writer ever must believe, as other judicious persons do, who have seen the letter, that there is but one man in the Catholic body capable of drawing up such a letter, the same who assured the Legislature that no Catholic, except J. M. and his two nameless friends, objected to the condemned oath and the appellation of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters.*

was to this barefaced attempt at hectoring them into a falsehood of complicated guilt and infamy. In two words, the M. Rev. Dr. Troy, in the name of himself and his episcopal brethren, avowed that Dr. M. *was their agent,* and that *the vote of thanks to him was authentic.** As to the person against whose character and peace of mind this extraordinary attack was levelled, he did not so much as complain of it either to the public or to the board, but he contented himself with barely requesting a friend of his, who was a leading member of the latter, not to be offended with him if he printed the extraordinary letter just as it stands, without preface or comment of any kind whatever; to which request an answer was returned, that *if he did print it* (namely, a letter from all the Catholics of Britain to all the Prelates of Ireland) *the door of every gentleman in the former island would be shut against him,* with other threats of a still more serious nature; and though he neither published the letter, nor the threats alluded to, he found that the former menace was actually put in force against him, as far as this was practicable. The conduct of a certain English Prelate supported, as he affirmed, by two or three of his brethren, to nullify the synodical Acts of the twenty-seven Prelates of Ireland,

* March 26.

and the solemn declaration of the Midland Vicar in support of them, respecting the hasty resolve of the St. Alban's Tavern, was hardly less extraordinary than that of the leading Board men. To be brief, he called upon the former to acknowledge that their synodical act, declaring the Tavern Resolution to be *vague, indefinite, and possibly injurious to Religion,* was "grounded in an error of fact."* His requisition on the latter, for having published that decision, was still more imperative: "we "demand that you retract and correct the false "statements you have given of our conduct. "We expect that you will inform us of the "means you have taken to do us the justice we "require."* It was an easy matter to demolish the flimsy pretexts on which these lofty requisitions were built: accordingly, the accused party shewed that the unanimous decision of a whole national Prelacy, convened in a canonical synod, without any lay intervention whatever, was preferable in every point of view to the hasty signature of one V. A. and one Coadjutor in a Tavern, deceived and overawed as they were by laymen, even though they were afterwards supported by two other V. V. A., separately gained over by the same party: he observed, that the synodical decision of Feb.

* Aug. 9. † July 18.

26, was made in support of the same Prelate's prior decision of Sept. 14, 1809, which latter, the Tavern Resolution, was fabricated for the express purpose of overturning; and that, of course, the aggression lay with the accusers, not the accused: finally, he demonstrated that the publication of the existing unfortunate difference among Catholic Bishops, originated in the same assailing quarter, by a minority of five Prelates sending up a petition to the Houses of Parliament, thence to pass into all the newspapers of both islands, in opposition to the synodical Resolutions of near thirty Prelates, passed eighteen months before.*

PACIFIC OVERTURES.

Convinced that no greater evil can befall the Church, than disunion among her principal Pastors, except their abandoning or exposing to danger her faith or discipline, the Bishops of Ireland, and their episcopal agent in England, employed every means in their power to close the existing breach between them and the small number of their dissenting English brethren. For this purpose, they did not *demand* of the latter a retractation of their precipitate Resolution, but barely a *public explanation* of it, conformable with that which they

* Sept. 19. Nov. 16, &c.

were accustomed to give to Catholics in private; knowing well, that such a public explanation of their meaning, would deter Protestant Statesmen, and Catholic politicians, from building on their authority the mischievous arrangements of the common Religion, which the latter were known to be planning. This formed the main object of many different letters from the Prelates of Ireland, to their English brethren. With respect to the present writer, not content with arguments and entreaties, he sacrificed his personal interests, and those of his station, to gain this important point. Three several times did he kneel to the same number of his brethren; not, indeed, to acknowledge any fault, as he was not conscious of having committed any, but to heal their wounded feelings, and to induce them, as he expressed it to one of them in a printed letter, "to act with perfect unanimity, and a combi-"nation of strength, in the cause of our Great "Master."* The writer was satisfied, that each one of his brethren was, at the bottom, as averse as he himself was, to the meditated arrangements, or *securities*, as they were improperly called, and that they were only deterred from publishing this their sentiment by an ill-judged respect for a certain party. Hence he

* Feb. 19, 1810.

thought it would be for the common good of all parties, in a religious point of view, to do what he had otherwise a right to do, as public agent to the Prelates, who professed to transmit their letters on the business to him, namely, to publish in a work of his own on the subject, which at this period made its appearance,* some extracts from the letters, which these Prelates had lately received from England. The writer disregarded the misrepresentation of his own and his friend's conduct, contained in the letter, in hope that their writers would be bound by the promises they made.—In one letter, without a date, but post-marked London, Aug. 9, 1810, the respectable author writes: "We have had nothing to do with the Veto,

* Instructions to the Catholics.—This is the writer's most useful work on the subject of it, which may be gathered from the following declaration of a certain Protestant Baronet to the writer concerning it. "You have been spoil-"ing," he said, "the work which I think of by day, and "dream of by night: I would have spent 5,000 guineas to "prevent the publication of that work." Another highly useful work of the writer, on the whole business of our unfortunate dissentions, is, *The Explanation with D. P.;* but this he has hitherto kept back from the public at large, from respect to the person to whom it is inscribed. A copy of it having, by some adventure, reached one of the leading Cardinals, then a prisoner in France, he wrote a regular criticism on it, strongly supporting it, and echoing back to the writer his concluding sentence: "With me stand the Prelates of "the Catholic Church."

" but to condemn it.—We lament that the " Irish Prelates, and their agent, have had any " concern in it: and we think it peculiarly " unjust, that the odium of it should be thrown " from them, who were concerned in it, upon " us, *who grounded our Resolution on the rejec-* " *tion of it.*" The same person writes, in another letter, dated Aug. 29: " If it be true, that " the Lords Grenville and Grey had any ar- " rangements in contemplation, relative to a " Veto, or to any measure inconsistent with " the integrity and safety of the R. C. Religion, " we declare, that we consider such arrange- " ments as foreign to the obvious meaning " of the Resolution we have signed; that we " are free to reject them, and should absolutely " reject them, if proposed to us." These edifying sentiments were brought forward by the present writer, as the ground-work of a complete pacification, in the quarter were it was most wanted; and, indeed, as a demonstration to the Catholic public, that it already existed, as far as concerns the *Fifth Resolution:* unfortunately, however, they were not openly supported by the subsequent conduct of those who really entertained them; hence Sir John Hippisley, at the period in question, namely, on the last of May 1811, speaking in Parliament of the alleged " uniformity of senti- " ments," between the Irish Prelates and their

agent on one hand, and five English Prelates on the other, said, that "if the fact itself were "true, little reliance was to be placed on the "declarations of the latter;" but he added, "the fact is not true, the English Prelates "deprecated the ungenerous tendency of such "assertions."* This solemn declaration, made on their alleged authority, was never contradicted by them.—In the summer of the following year, 1812, a more powerful effort was made by the Bishops of Ireland, to restore peace and harmony between them, and the five dissenting Prelates of England: but, before the means they used for this purpose are stated, it is necessary to describe a second subject of disunion, in *actual existence* between the parties; whereas, the Tavern-Resolution barely argued *evils to come.*

THE BLANCHARDIST SCHISM.

It has been mentioned above, that His Holiness had embraced an opportunity, which occurred at the beginning of his pontificate, to restore the Church of France to the communion of the Universal Church; that, to facilitate this most important work, a majority of the lawful Bishops of France resigned their sees, and that the minority who refused to do this

* Summary of Speech, p. 11.

were influenced by motives of loyalty to their Sovereign, as judging that the restoration of the Catholic Religion in their country would strengthen the cause of the usurper; finally, that of the numerous band of French emigrant clergy in England, nine-tenths of it returned to their own country, with the approbation and assistance of our Government, to prosecute the work of religion and humanity, begun by the Pope. Among those who chose to remain in exile, a considerable proportion were found to be actuated by resentment and envy; they would not allow the Church of their country, to the honours of which many of their adversaries and persecutors were now promoted, to be any part of the Catholic Church: hence they refused to hold communion with it, and censured the Sovereign Pontiff himself, as the author of schism and impiety. These sentiments, which were privately patronized by several of the emigrant Bishops, and openly by a few of them,* were for seven years preached from the French pulpits of the Metropolis, and propagated from the public presses, without any contradiction or opposition, except what they met with in the writer's *Elucidation of the*

* The Bishops of Blois, Usez, Rodez, &c. These were in the schismatical habit of giving faculties, where they had no jurisdiction. See *L'Ami de la Religion et du Roi, May* 15, 1819.

Pope's Briefs respecting the Church of France, and two or three small pamphlets by Père le Pointe, S. J. and Abbé Robert. Their ostensible defender in England was Abbé Blanchard, a writer of considerable talents, as in France was an Abbé Clement. Hence the members of the new *Petite Eglise* were called in the former country, *Blanchardists;* in the latter, *Clementines.* In 1808, the city of Rome having been seized upon, and the Pope confined by Napoleon, the writer was encouraged and assisted by Mgr. Calleppi, Nuncio to the Court of Lisbon, who was then in England, to address a public Pastoral, dated June 1st, to his flock, calling upon them to pray for their Holy Father, and complaining of the above-mentioned scandalous calumnies preached and published against him. In less than a month from the last date, appeared a pamphlet, published by Blanchard, under the title of *Défense du Clergé François contre l'Inculpation de Monsgr. Milner,* in which, among other schismatical and impious doctrines, the author proclaimed, that "P. Pius VII. had violated the canons of the "General Councils, and the divine right of "Bishops, and that, by forming the Church of "the Concordat, he had revoked the Briefs of "his predecessor, admitted the fundamental "principles of *the Civil Constitution of the* "*Clergy,* and formed *a phantom of a Church,*

" *on the bases which Pius VI. had condemned,* " *as impious, heretical, and schismatical.*" In the course of a few weeks, the writer addressed a second Pastoral to his Clergy, dated Aug. 10th, in refutation of the *Défense,* censuring the above quoted positions, and others to the same purport, as being respectively *false, scandalous, injurious to the successor of St. Peter,* as *insinuating, and tending to schism,* and as being ACTUALLY SCHISMATICAL. He, as the same time, cautioned his Clergy, " not to " permit any person who rejects the commu- " nion of P. Pius VII., or who persists in as- " serting that he has fallen into heresy or " schism, or that he has led any part of the " Church into it, and the Abbés Blanchard, " and his auxiliary, Gaschet by name, to ad- " minister or receive any sacrament in their " respective chapels." About a fortnight after the date of the latter Pastoral appeared another, dated Aug. 24th, from the London V. A., in which, without citing any particular positions, he censured the *Défense du Clergé, &c. par M. Blanchard,* and the *Lettre de M. Gaschet à Mgr. Milner,* as being respectively " *scandalous,* " *derogatory to the respect due to P. Pius VII.,* " *true and lawful successor of St. Peter, injuri-* " *ous to his character and authority,* LEADING " TO SCHISM, and one of them as actually " schismatical, Lettre de Gaschet."—Here was

laid a fundamental ground of difference, between the Midland and the London Districts, namely: the work of Blanchard, which had been pronounced SCHISMATICAL in the former, was, a fortnight afterward, censured in the latter as barely LEADING TO SCHISM. —But another stronger ground was soon after laid.

Blanchard having undertaken to reply to the London V. A., engaged seven French Priests of the London District, most of whom had been ecclesiastical dignitaries in their own country, to sign a formal approbation of his work, the *Défense*, as *orthodox*, and *defending the sound doctrine against the attacks upon it in latter times*. This approbation Blanchard published in his *Réponse à Mgr. D.*, in consequence of which a short letter was written, Sept. 23, to the London Vicars General, directing that spiritual faculties should not be given or continued to these sacerdotal subscribers. The controversy between the writer and Blanchard, supported as he was by associates of various descriptions,*

* Among these was Count Phaff, of Phaffenoven, who having teased Ministry to prosecute the writer, under pretence, that to defend the Pope is to endanger the life of the Sovereign, was advised by them to cite the writer to the Pope's tribunal. They even furnished him with an attorney to draw up the citation. This consisted of eleven folio pages, the first of which was entirely made up of the Count's titles.

was continued in different publications on each side, during two or three years. In one of these, the French schismatic had the hardihood to appeal to the Prelates of Ireland, as abettors of his doctrine. This roused those vigilant and faithful pastors, to take part in the contest. Accordingly, being assembled together in Dublin, July 3, 1809, to the number of seventeen, they decided (and their decisions were in the course of a fortnight confirmed by the remaining thirteen members of their college), that the various positions of Blanchard are *false, calumnious, scandalous, schismatical,* &c. The year following, the four V. V. A. of England, with the two Coadjutor Prelates and their chosen divines, having met together in London, unanimously adopted, on the 24th of February, the following *test* against Blanchardism: namely, they resolved, that "No French "Priest be allowed to hold spiritual faculties, "or to say Mass in any of the Districts, who, "being called upon, refuses to acknowledge "that *His Holiness P. Pius VII. is not a he-* "*retic or a schismatic, or the author or abettor of* "*heresy or schism.*" This was equivalent to acknowledging that *the Church of France,* restored by Pius VII., *is not heretical, or schismatical,* but *Catholic.* This test was accordingly put in force throughout the fifteen counties of the Midland District, and accepted of by every French clergy-

man resident in it, among whom was the late Bishop of Moulins, since Archbishop of Bourges, with the exception of a single individual, who changed his District in order to avoid it: whereas in the London District, where it ought to have been first published, from an ill-judged condescension to certain wrong-principled French personages, in violation of the synodical decree, it was never published at all. Thus a difference, not only of doctrine but also of practice, respecting the Sacraments, became manifest in these different portions of the Catholic Church. That doctrine which was proclaimed *Heretical,* throughout Ireland and the Midland District, was declared only *to lead to heresy* in that of the Metropolis; and those Clergymen who were forbidden to administer or receive any Sacrament in the former places, were allowed to live and die in their errors throughout the latter. Nor did the mischief end here: for one of those seven Priests, by name J. Trevaux, who had been interdicted in the London District, for *publicly approving of* those Blanchardist principles, which so many hundreds of his colleagues were known *privately to maintain,* was, from the same ill-judged condescension, restored to his faculties without any retractation of his schismatical act whatever; true it is he apologized to the V. A. himself; as not knowing, when he approved of Blanchard's Book, that

it had been censured by his Prelate; but as to any retractation of the schismatical doctrine itself, which goes to signify that *Pius VII. is not the author of schism and heresy,* and that *the Church of France, restored by him, is not a phantom, but a real portion of the Catholic Church:* this, first and last, he refused to confess, either to his friends in private, or his superiors in public. Then, what exuberant joy, and triumph, and insolence, did not Blanchard publish to the world, in his *Vérité proclamée par ses Agresseurs!* And then, what grief and confusion overwhelmed the faithful defenders of Catholic faith and unity, throughout both islands!—But the Prelates of Ireland, whatever they felt, did not sink under the calamity; on the contrary, the four Archbishops and three other Bishops, having met together in Dublin, having considered the whole of the present case, resolved, that "Trevaux had been guilty "of an overt act of schism;"—that "in con- "sequence of this, he was deserving of the pu- "nishment inflicted on him by his Bishop, in "depriving him of his faculties;"—that "this "Bishop could not, consistently with what he "owed to Religion, &c., release him from his "censure, without an act of retractation on "his part, no less public than his approbation "of schism had been;—that it does not appear "(by the Prelate's own defence) that such re-

" tractation ever took place:"—consequently, that " by the re-admission of Trevaux to the " sacred ministry in the L— District, *schism is* " *openly countenanced* there, to the great injury " of Religion and Catholic unity, though con- " trary to the intention of the V. A."—Such were the twofold grounds of dissention between five Prelates on one side, and thirty on the other: namely, the impending consequences of the Tavern-pledge, and the *open countenance* given to schism in one of the Districts.

PACIFICATORY PROGRESS OF BISHOP MOYLAN.

While the state of the Catholic Religion in the British islands was such as is described above, the pious, the prudent, the sweet-tempered *Francis of Sales* of modern times, as he was called, Dr. F. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, undertook, with the approbation of his episcopal brethren, to negociate with the dissenting Prelates of England, for the purpose of reconciling them together upon proper grounds. Taking, therefore, with him the Dean of his chapter, and intended successor, Dr. Macarthy, he set sail from Ireland in July 1812, and landed in the Western District of England, where he began his meritorious mission by treating with the Pastor of it: but not meeting with a

reception congenial with his own feelings, he proceeded to the capital, where he experienced, from the ecclesiastics in power, a quite different kind of reception; namely, the most courteous usage and the fairest promises; so that, writing to his friends, he expressed great confidence that he should be enabled to establish a right understanding in this important quarter: these hopes, however, proved delusive: for whereas, his first and main object was to be able to assure his brethren in Ireland, from the testimony of his own senses, that the notorious schismatic, Abbé Trevaux, had *retracted his schism;* the act of which retractation, he was assured, lay in a bureau then before him: and though he was sometimes promised that this important document would be exhibited to him, he found in the end that no such satisfaction was to be afforded him: in fact, *the retractation of the schism itself* did not exist, but only a personal apology to the V. A. Coming into the Midland District, the venerable Bishop had no terms to make there: he and the writer having been in all occurrences, for a long course of years, of one heart and one mind. To complete his mission, it was necessary he should proceed into the North, as far as Durham, whither he begged the writer to accompany him and Dean Macarthy. The writer, however, would not accede to the request, but upon con-

dition that his Western and Southern brethren would be invited to the meeting; not wishing, as he declared, to form a party, but to investigate truth. The invitation was accordingly given, and accepted of by the Southern Prelate, who with his General Vicar, the Rev. Mr. Bramston, met Bishop Moylan, Dean Macarthy, Dr. Milner, Bishop Gibson, Dr. Smith, and the Rev. Mr. Gillow, at Durham, on the 20th of August 1812, in order to concert with them a general plan of pacification. After much talk on both sides, it was at length agreed upon that each party should bring forward a project for the above-mentioned purpose. Accordingly, on the following day, the senior V. A. produced the following brief formula: "we, the undersigned, &c. are all of one faith and one communion." To this proposal, Bishop Moylan answered, that he could not carry back with him, to his brethren in Ireland, so vague a declaration in answer to their specific complaints. He then produced the following counter-project, which had been drawn up and agreed to that morning by himself, Dean Macarthy, and Dr. Milner. "We, the undersigned Prelates, being assembled together at Durham, this 21st of Aug. 1812, for the purpose of preserving the integrity and security of our ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, and for consolidating our Catholic unity with

" the See Apostolic, and among ourselves, " by and with the advice of our theologians " here present, have resolved: 1st. That we " deem it inexpedient to concur in or consent " to any changes or change in the present ca- " nonical form of appointing Bishops V. V. A., " and their respective Coadjutors, observed " within the United Kingdom; which mode " experience has proved to be wise, salutary, " and unexceptionable; unless a different dis- " cipline should be established by the autho- " rity of the Holy See. But we are resolved " not to concur in promoting any ecclesiastic " to any of the aforesaid offices, of whose " loyalty to his King and country, and peace- " able conduct and disposition, we are not " fully persuaded.

" Resolved, 2dly., That we will not permit " any ecclesiastic, within the limits of our re- " spective jurisdictions, to exercise any sacer- " dotal functions, who shall, when called upon, " refuse publicly to acknowledge that *His Ho- " liness, P. Pius VII. is not a heretic nor a " schismatic, nor the author or abettor of heresy " or schism;* or to *declare himself in communion " with His Holiness, and with all those who hold " communion with him;* and that we will call " upon all those ecclesiastics, as above, whom " we have, or shall have reason to suspect of

" holding or abetting a contrary doctrine, to " make this acknowledgment.

" Resolved, 3dly. That we will cause these " Resolutions to be published in the next Di- " rectory, published by Keating and Co."

Had these Resolutions, proposed by the Bishop of Cork, and his two friends, been adopted and adhered to by the senior V. A. and his two friends, perfect peace and harmony would have been immediately restored among the Catholic Pastors of the two Islands; the mischievous Resolution of the Tavern-meeting would have been rendered innoxious; the schismatical clauses of the ensuing Bill would not have been brought forward; the Blanchardist schism would have been suppressed; and hundreds, if not thousands of the emigrant French, who, during the following six years, died in acknowledged schism, without any other chance for eternity but that which invincible ignorance afforded, would have died in the open communion with the Catholic Church. Unfortunately, the Resolutions were not adopted; and the meeting broke up without any thing taking place in it worth being recorded, excepting the Apology printed in the Appendix,* which the writer made to those of his brethren who might be indisposed against him, and ex-

* See Appendix E.

cepting an engagement, in a private letter, on their part,* of being "vigilant in preventing, "and firm in resisting any innovations, or mea- "sures prejudicial to the unity or authority "of the Catholic Church, to the sacred rights "of the Apostolic See, or to the integrity or "security of our holy Religion, in its faith, "morality, or discipline." — But, alas! in rejecting the counter-project, they rejected the means of accomplishing this.

THE BILL OF 1813.

There can be no doubt but the venerable persons who made the above quoted declaration, meant what they said, just as the honourable personage who, in persuading them to sign the Fifth Resolution, meant what he said, in promising them that, "If any specific terms "should be proposed, affecting the interests

* Letter to Dr. Moylan, Aug. 23, 1812. N. B. In the original it is asserted, that no person who had charged the Pope with heresy, &c. had been admitted *without Retractation*, or who might so charge him, &c. should be admitted *without Retractation:* now in the printed copies of this letter, circulated by its author, far and wide, at the beginning of the year 1813, in both instances the word *Retractation* is altered into the word *Satisfaction*. On the difference between these two terms, the whole important controversy concerning the restoration of Trevaux hinges: of course, it was utterly unwarrantable to substitute one of them for the other, in professing to publish an original document.

" of Religion, they should be submitted to the " deliberation and judgment of the V. V. A."* The same, however, cannot be said in favour of the learned historian's defence of that Resolution, where he protested that, " If govern- " ment should propose to us any thing which " affected our spiritual concerns, it would be " our duty to submit that part of it to the " Church."† In fact, our experienced manager knew full well that, as this line of conduct never before had been observed by him and his cabinet, so least of all was it their intention to observe it with respect to the Bill, then in contemplation. Accordingly, the writer, animadverting on the passage here quoted, predicted as follows: " he, Mr. C. B. and two or three " of his lay friends, will settle the arrangements " (of the Bill) with Protestant Statesmen, and " then he will write a new *Red Book,* similar to " that of 1789, to prove that ' he was most " ' anxious to frame the arrangements in such " ' manner as should not be thought objection- " ' able by the venerable Prelates.' "‡ In fact, *secresy* was the very character of the Bill in question. That such would be its character, together with the motive for this secresy, was

* Letter to the R. R. J. M. by D. P., p. 2.

† Letter to an Irish Cath. Gent. by Mr. B., p. 14, 1811.

‡ Letter to a R. C. Prelate, A.D. 1811, p. 57.

known to Mr. Perceval himself, who, speaking for the last time on the Catholic affairs, said: "They (the Emancipators) tell us that *they* "*have a project,* but that they *will not bring it* "*forward,* for fear of its being *sifted.* What, "do they then intend to carry their Bill through "Parliament in a single night?"—To be brief, so far from being consulted on *the numerous and complicated arrangements* and changes in the Catholic discipline proposed to the Legislature in this Bill, the Bishops were not even informed of the tenor or nature of the oath, containing a variety of doctrinal articles, which they themselves would have been required to take, under the expected Act; but the whole ecclesiastical, as well as civil business of the Bill, including a fresh profession of Catholic faith, was settled between Mr. C. Butler, with his two or three confidential lay friends, and certain Protestant Statesmen. But, though the Bishops bore this degradation of their divine authority in silence, several of the lay Catholics were far from being so passive, under the violation of their civil rights. A meeting of the Board had been called in London, chiefly to provide the way and means which are always wanted, when several respectable gentlemen, who had come up from the country to attend it, and who happened to lodge at the same Hotel in Oxford Street, seeing an article

in *The Pilot* newspaper, purporting that Mr. C. B. was engaged with the Rt. Hon. Mr. Canning in settling the terms of the expected Act for the relief of the Catholics, expressed their common surprise that they had never been informed of so much as the outlines of this all-important Bill, and agreed together that one of them, in the name of the rest, should, at the Board-meeting to be held the same day, read the newspaper article, and demand of the learned gentleman an account of the terms he had been settling for them. This was accordingly done, when the spokesman was silenced in so authoritative a style by the ostensible head of the Board, as to rouse the feelings of the whole company present. He was asked, " If Mr. B. " was not at liberty to visit whom he pleased ?" And " whether he was obliged to give an ac- " count to any one of his private conversa- " tions ?" It may be readily conceived how much the gentleman in question, and several others, were disgusted with this style of language addressed to them; and still more with the clandestine manner of managing their most important, civil as well as ecclesiastical, affairs adopted by Mr. B. and his confidents. Accordingly, they indignantly asked one another, " what is this Board but a voluntary associa- " tion, or club of individual gentlemen ? It " has no superiority over us of the Catholic

" body; nor has it received any deputation, " to think, and to act for us, and them, in what- " ever concerns our common welfare, fortune, " and eternity."

The learned historian and manager begins his account of " The memorable campaign of " 1813, for Catholic Emancipation," to use his own terms,* with a long dissertation, partly political, and partly theological, under the title of " Mr. Butler's Address to the Protestants of " the United Empire."† It fills twenty-eight close pages, but does not appear to have any connection whatever with the Bill itself, or to concern any one, but the author of it. He then presents his readers with a copy of the old

* Page 254.

† In republishing this Address, in his Memoirs, Mr. B. has thought proper to suppress the curse with which he concludes it. In the original pamphlet, after mentioning the abolishment of the Spanish Inquisition by the Cortes, Mr. Butler exclaims : " so perish every mode of Religious per- " secution, by whom or against whomsoever raised!" In fact, that curse attaches not only to the Pope, who is always the necessary immediate head of the Roman Inquisition, but also to the civil courts of our own country, which are in the habit of punishing the authors of doctrines that they judge to be impious and blasphemous.—A certain advocate of impiety, by name Aspland, defending his friend Carlile in *The Times* Newspaper of last November, appeals with high praises to Mr. C. B—'s theological works, and particularly to his new Apostles' Creed of eleven Articles, published in his *Confessions of Faith*, and his *Life of Fénélon*.

Petition to Parliament for relief, signed in 1810, by the writer, as well as other Catholics, ecclesiastics and laymen. After this, he mentions the days on which the Bill itself, and the different sets of clauses to restrain it, and to subjugate the Catholic Religion and its ministers to worldly interests or purposes, were moved, but does not point out the motives there were for assigning different parts in this legislative drama to different actors, and why the most important of the Religious restraints were kept out of sight, till within three or four days of the last reading of the Bill in the lower House. Lastly, he gives such a view of the whole Bill, as suited his purposes to give. The present writer will present another view of it, which he hopes will be more useful, when the business of Emancipation is next brought forward.

CHIEF CONTENTS OF THE BILL OF 1813.

On the last day of April, Mr. Grattan presented to the House of Commons, and thereby to the view of the Catholic as well as the Protestant public, the long expected Bill, that is to say, the pleasing side of it, that of Emancipation. On the same occasion Mr. Canning gave notice, as had been settled, of his intention to

move for certain clauses or restrictions to be added to it, without mentioning any thing more of their nature, than that they were "perfectly "conformable to the spirit of it." These proved to consist chiefly of the presbyterian plan of subjugating the Bishops, and, through them, the whole business of the Catholic Religion, to the controul of the leading laymen of that communion; being the same which he had been concerting, for months beforehand, with the theological lawyer of Lincoln's Inn. In conclusion, Lord Castlereagh produced a different set of clauses, which gave ministry the power of an effectual Veto over the whole. Altogether, the Bill fairly printed, forms a considerable volume. It contains four or five different sets of galling restrictions, so as to constitute it a Bill of *pains and penalties*, rather than that of relief, and it enjoins no fewer than six new oaths, adapted to the purposes of the restrictions. From the circumstances and terms of its forerunner, *The Fifth Resolution*, there was reason to fear that the Bill of Relief, as it was termed, would turn out to be a Bill of persecution; but no Catholic alarmist ever conceived it would be of so oppressive a nature as it proved to be.

The first striking feature in the Bill, is the long theological Oath, appointed to be taken by all persons who were to derive any advantage

from the Bill, and also by "every person, now "exercising, or who shall hereafter exercise "any of the spiritual duties or functions "usually exercised by persons in H. Orders, "professing Catholic Religion;" which oath is three times the length of the odious declaration, called *The Long Oath;* besides a profession of civil allegiance, it contains alleged tenets of the Catholic Faith, on ten different articles, all of them more or less inaccurately, and some of them erroneously expressed. The historian informs us, that "this oath was chiefly formed "from the oaths in the Acts passed for the re-"lief of the Catholics in 1791 and 1793:"* but he does not tell us who it was that had that confidence in his character and theological learning, as to *form an oath out* of two other oaths, to be taken by his Bishops and Clergy, as well as by the Catholics of both islands in general! However, without such information, it may be safely affirmed, from the experience of 1789, that among them all there is but one man, and he a common English lawyer, of Lincoln's Inn, who was capable of the undertaking. This long oath is immediately followed in the Bill by another of considerable length, framed exclusively for the Catholic Clergy, by which they would have been precluded from

* Page 259.

corresponding with all foreign Prelates, in every part of the world, on subjects of literature, health, civility, &c., as well as on professional business. This oath was to be taken by them within six months from the passing of the act, under the penalties of a misdemeanour, for neglecting to take it; but without any, the least benefit to themselves, from complying with it. Such was the relief, and the emancipation held out by this Bill, to the loyal, meritorious Catholic Clergy of both islands!—One only act of favour is shewn them in it, which is, that *if they are incapable of writing their names, the clerk of the court may write for them, and it will be sufficient for them to make their marks!* Other restrictions and penalties follow, particularly attaching to the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction and functions, which no Catholic could concur in without an overt act of schism. The principal of these go to transfer the due influence and canonical right of the Episcopal college to a lay aristocracy in each island, under the controul of a Protestant Supremacy. To be brief: the Bill goes to create such an heterogeneous assemblage of men as never existed, nor was even imagined. The King was to appoint one Committee for England, and another for Ireland. Each of them was to consist of some Catholic Peers, and rich commoners, and one Catholic Bishop; likewise of

some Protestant Privy Counsellors, under a Protestant Secretary of State, who was also to be President of the Committee, with full power of dissolving it, and forming another! To this Secretary the name of each Catholic candidate for episcopacy was to be sent; who, all powerful as he was, with respect to the Committee, could not himself pronounce on the candidate's merits or demerits, but was required to remit the case to their judgment, he himself at the same time presiding at their consultation. The junta thus framed, pronounces absolutely, yet secretly, on the character of the Priest whose name is before them, and this, without any fixed rule for guiding their decision, and *without any opportunity afforded the accused of vindicating his fair fame,* supposing it to be blasted at the Board, by calumny, or whispered away by malice: and yet the contriver of this scheme, as we have heard, *curses the Inquisition!*

The last clause of this cumbrous Bill, though aimed at the Catholic Bishops and Clergy, strikes at the freedom of every British subject. It requires, that, "As often as any subject "shall receive any instrument from the See of "Rome, or from any person or body in "foreign parts, acting under the authority of "the said See, or under that of any other "spiritual superior, that they shall deliver "the same in the original, to the President of

" the Board," namely, the Secretary of State, who, though he be its absolute head, is not to judge of its contents, by his own lights and information, but must send it them, to judge whether there is any thing in it " injurious to " the safety of the kingdom, or to the Protes- " tant establishment." Any contravention of this clause, by the party receiving the instrument, or by any other person, subjects them to be sent out of the kingdom, that is, *to be transported*. Thus a Protestant merchant, corresponding with a public commercial company at Civita Vecchia, or a Protestant Nobleman, receiving letters from the Pope's Banker, Turlonia, or his statuary, Canova, on his private concerns, if he fails to send the *original papers*, which he has so received, to the Secretary of State, is liable to be seized upon by a King's messenger, and clapped on board a transport, bound to Botany Bay, or Baffin's Bay, at the discretion of the minister. But to consider the matter barely as it relates to Catholic Bishops: by a subsequent clause, it is provided that, in case the Bishop makes oath that the contents of any letter which he may receive from Rome, or elsewhere, *regards only spiritual matters*, he shall be exempt from producing it.—Now, in the name of common sense, was there ever a greater inconsistency? You believe the Bishop on his oath, that the letter he has received from

Rome, *relates only to spiritual matters,* but you do not believe him, on the oath you had just before extorted from him, that he will correspond with Rome *on no other but spiritual matters!*—In a word, the Legislature, by acting justly and consistently, as I trust it will, whenever the relief is actually afforded, may save the public an annual thousand pounds in each island, may prevent the accumulated perjuries, which the numerous oaths proposed are calculated to produce, may free its Catholic subjects from the unmerited disgrace, of having whatever they deem most sacred exposed to the ridicule of clerks and servants, perhaps even of stage-players,* and may still be more secure for their establishments against secret fraud, and open force, than by the complex oppression contained in the Bill: that is to say, by trusting to the unsullied honour of conscientious men, and to the existing laws, which are as efficacious against treachery and disloyalty in the persons of Catholic Bishops, as against the

* It may not be improper to mention here, that the writer is (without detriment to his honour) in possession of certain papers, transmitted from an office in Lincoln's Inn, to a foreign ecclesiastical court, which, though not of conscientious secresy, could not be answered through a public office or a Committee Board without injury to the peace of our first Catholic families; perhaps also to the credit of that office.

same crimes in other subjects. Should sincere and intelligent Catholics be reduced to a choice among the three evils in question, they would prefer Sir John Hippisley's tribunal of a *Ministre du Culte*, to Mr. Butler's *domestic Committee of Inquisition;* and they would prefer Lord Grenville's *effectual negative in the Crown* to either of them.—Yes, they would wisely "fly from "petty tyrants to the throne."

OPPOSITION TO THE BILL.

Notwithstanding the powerful support of the Bill, by members of the Cabinet, as well as by the Opposition, and notwithstanding the expedition of its managers, in hurrying it on, after its contents became known, in order to prevent its being *sifted*, yet resisted and even sifted it was, during the three or four days of its lying complete before the House of Commons. Dr. Duigenan, and the other professed enemies of Emancipation, could not fail of opposing it, with a virulence proportioned to its prospect of success; and Sir J. Hippisley made a separate attack, of a tendency no less fatal to it than the former. The learned historian expresses his surprise at the alleged inconsistency of the Baronet, compared with his past professions and conduct: yet it could not escape that author's sagacity, that after all, Sir John and he

were rival candidates, for the same controul over the Catholic clergy and religion; the former by means of the intended office of a Catholic Commissary, which he intended for himself; the latter by means of Mr. Canning's new Board, proposed in the Bill, of which Board he foresaw that he would have as usual the chief management. No wonder, then, that the Baronet, seeing his own project, which he studied by day, and dreamed of by night, in danger of being supplanted by Mr. Butler, should make all the opposition in his power against the latter, even at the risk of appearing to change sides on the main question.

Still as the clauses of the Bill, besides being generally injurious to the Catholic Religion, were in some instances clearly *schismatical*, namely, where they attributed spiritual jurisdiction to a quarter in which it does not exist, and rejects it in another where it does exist, the chief opposition to it, was naturally to be expected from the Catholic Prelates, as soon as they should become acquainted with its contents. Certain it is, that they universally reprobated the Bill, in their hearts; and we cannot question the declaration of some of them, that they opposed it as soon as it became known to them, either wholly or in some of its parts: but for such opposition to be effectual, it was necessary, first, to be openly made and avowed;

and secondly, to be well concerted and simultaneous; neither of which conditions could be reckoned upon in England, after the fatal signature of the Fifth Resolution. The writer, however, did the utmost in his power to procure them both. For this purpose, the day after his arrival in London, May 19, he sent a note to his brother Prelate, the contents of which are repeated in the answer to it, now before him: "In reply to your note, by which you ask me, "*whether I will join you in openly opposing* "*Mr. Canning's clauses?** I beg leave to say, "that I do not know what Mr. Canning's "clauses are." May 20, 1813. It is to be observed, that at the date of this correspondence, Mr. Canning's oppressive clauses had not only

* This question, suggested by a sincere wish of procuring the cooperation of his brethren, in securing the ministry and persons of the Catholic clergy from injury and oppression, was foully misrepresented by a certain foreign agent, on alleged authority, as a call upon a Prelate *to pass an official censure on a measure* which was not *then exactly defined*."—"Due giorni prima che le clausole del Bill fossero publicate "o cognoscute, Mgr. M. miscrisse un biglietto, dimandando "che io me unisse con lui a *censurarle*, e se trovo molto offe-"so perche gli resposi che non poteva *censurarle* prima de "sapere quali fossero."—A more injurious misrepresentation to the writer's character, as a gentleman, a theologian, and a Prelate, than this, considered in all its circumstances, he does not remember to have ever suffered. No doubt but it will be disavowed by those respectable persons on whose alleged authority it was advanced.

been printed, by order of the Commons, but also published in the Newspapers: but, whereas, Lord Castlereagh had proposed some further restrictions, it was ordered, that the whole of the proposed restrictions should be incorporated in the Bill and printed altogether. This was done, and the whole instrument, with its fresh terrors, was circulated in print on Friday, May 21, on which day the writer sent his brother a second letter, to the following purport: *as by this time you must have seen what the clauses are, will you now, at least, join me, in openly opposing them?* To this question no answer whatever was given; which circumstance induced the writer hastily to draw up his BRIEF MEMORIAL.* It was written, printed, and partly circulated among Members of Parliament, on the same 21st of May.

Being in company, the following day, May 22, with a Catholic Nobleman, who seemed to consider his Prelate as approving of the Bill, the writer lamented that the V. V. A., then in London, did not meet together, and unequivocally declare to their flocks their judgment upon it; to whom the Nobleman replied: "The "Bible Society is to meet next Monday by "12 o'clock, at the house of (one of them, "whom he named): if you will call there

* See Appendix *F.*

" at one o'clock, you may confer with your " brethren on the subject, in the presence of " other respectable company."—The writer was punctual in his attendance, at the time and place assigned, where he found assembled two V. V. A., two Noble Lords, a distinguished Baronet, and four or five other Catholic gentlemen, all members of the Bible Society.

Having declined the fresh overtures then made him, to take a share in the business of the Bible Society, there going forward, he embraced the earliest opportunity of stating that other business, for the sake of which, at the invitation of the noble Lord, there present, he waited on the meeting; namely, that the distinguished lay personages, who attended it, might learn for certain what the sentiments of their Prelates were concerning the Bill before Parliament. As no one else seemed disposed to ask any questions, or make any remarks on this subject, the writer proposed the three following queries, which he read from a paper lying before him: " First: is there any thing contrary to the inte- " grity or safety of the Catholic doctrine or " discipline, contained or involved in the Bill " now before Parliament?—Secondly: can a " Catholic Bishop or Layman, conscientiously " accept of, or act under the Commission pro- " posed by the Bill?—Thirdly: is not an En- " glish Vic. Ap. obliged to speak out openly,

" so as to be clearly understood by the Catholic " Public, and especially by the Legislature, in " opposition to the Bill?"—To these questions one respectable character present answered, that he *did not like the Bill, for the reasons contained in* THE BRIEF MEMORIAL, *and for other reasons; but that he did not think it prudent to answer the above questions:* another answered, that he had endeavoured, through a M. P. whom he named, to get a certain alteration made in the proposed process of appointing Bishops; but without success. Finally, all the company concurred in asserting, that, as the Bill was to be read, for the third time, on that very day, May 24th, it was too late to make any opposition to it. The writer then declared his *Protest* against the Bill, as containing *clauses contrary to the integrity and safety of the Catholic Religion.* He asserted, moreover, that *no Catholic Bishop or Layman could accept of a place in the commission proposed by the Bill, without committing an* ACT OF SCHISM,*

* A misrepresentation of this part of the writer's declaration, nearly as gross and injurious to his character as that mentioned above, was made on the same alleged authority, by the foreign agent alluded to, in the following words of an official document: " Nel giorno fissato per la terza ed " ultima lettura Mgr. M. fece circolare tra i Membre del " Parlamento un foglio, da lui scritto e stampato, nel quale " inveisce contra *tutte le clausole* del Bill, ma piu, in par- " ticolare, contra quella che stabilisce il sopradetto Comi-

and that *no Catholic Bishop, in particular, could take the oath proposed for a commissioner without infringing his Consecration Oath.** Lastly, he maintained it, as incontestible, that, if any two of the company present would go down to the House of Commons, and inform Mr. Grattan that the Vicars Apostolic had found clauses in the Bill incompatible with the integrity, or the safety of the Catholic Religion, it would even then be stopped in its progress.—However, as this was the event which was dreaded by most of the company, much more than the religious evils with which it was pregnant, the writer's protestations and arguments were equally disregarded, and the instrument of schism was left to take its course.

FAILURE OF THE BILL.

When the above-mentioned assembly of Bishops and noble and honourable laymen

" tato *per attestare la fidelita* de chi si ha da fare Vescovo. " Afferma, con gran vehemenza che nissuno Catolico puo " directe o indirecte accudere atale statuto senza essere " *ipso facto schismatico!*" 21 Giugn. 1813.—Happily the writer knows the difference between *teaching or committing schism*, which may be done through ignorance, inattention, and becoming *ipso facto schismatico!*

* Acting as a commissioner under the Act, the Bishop would be sworn to keep the King's secrets regarding the appointment of Bishops, &c. whereas he is previously bound by oath to keep the Pope's secrets in all such matters.

broke up, the success of the Bill, on its third reading, was as confidently anticipated to take place in the course of a few hours, as the rising of the sun the next morning: but God was pleased to have mercy of the remnant of his Holy Religion in this kingdom, and particularly on the individual Catholics who were blindly rushing forward to the brink of schism; accordingly, under his providential care, a stone of the long laboured edifice being torn from its place, the whole fell in ruins on the heads of the builders. Our historian gives a literal and true account of this important event in the following words: "On Monday, May 24th, the "house was called over, according to order: "after which it resolved itself into a Com- "mittee to consider of the Bill. The Speaker, "having left the chair, moved that the words in "the first clause: *to sit and vote in either house* "*of Parliament,* should be left out of the "Bill. After a long debate, the question was "called for. On a division, the numbers were: "for the clause 247, against it 251. Thus "the majority against the clause was four. "Upon the numbers being declared, Mr. Pon- "sonby said, that as the Bill, without the "clause, was neither worthy the acceptance of "Catholics, nor of the support of the friends "of concession, he would move that the chair- "man should leave the chair. The Bill was,

" of course, given up."* The resentment of the disappointed party fell chiefly on the Catholic Prelates and their episcopal agent. The Newspapers, in the pay of the Board, pronounced the death-blow of the Bill to be an act of *Felo de se;* while the other Protestant prints inveighed against that agent, as *a maintainer of the old Popish superstition* against the *liberal Protestant sentiments* of his more *enlightened brethren.*† The same language was heard in Parliament, particularly from the member of the Cabinet, who was chiefly concerned with Mr. C. Butler in framing the Bill. Speaking of the exclusion of the writer by the Board, he congratulated the members of it on their alleged *Emancipation of themselves from the thraldom of the Priesthood.* The Board itself met, day after day, and various attempts were made to get Dr. M. to attend it, in order to hear the speeches and resolutions which its orators had prepared against him. At length, being solicited by a great personage whom he

* Page 267.

† Two Catholic gentlemen having waited on the late Duke of Norfolk, to ask him what he thought of their conduct, in expelling Dr. M. from their Board; the Duke answered them: " I think you have acted perfectly right. " I have left the Religion; and I wish you to leave it. " This you are doing: for certainly Dr. M. is defending " the old system. Had it been such as you make it to be, " I should have had no occasion to change."

respected, and other well-disposed Catholics, he promised to attend a Meeting which was fixed for the 29th of the current month. Late on the preceding evening, he was informed by two friends of his, who waited on him for this purpose, that he was to be expelled from the Board at the meeting in question, for having written and circulated his *Brief Memorial*, and he was advised to avoid the blow by resigning his place in it. This he refused to do, however little he valued the distinction of itself, as it would have been to disavow his cause: he promised, however, to take no notice of any resolutions the Board might pass against him, provided they did not publish them: which compromise, however, the gentlemen said they were not authorized to enter into. The writer, accordingly, was punctual to his promise, and listened with temper to the harangues, and sentence of exclusion pronounced against him; when, drawing from his pocket a *Protest*, which he had drawn up for the occasion, he read as follows: "My *Brief Memorial* was published, "not on behalf of the present company of 65 "persons, nor of their constituents, they not "being chosen to represent any other Catho- "lics, nor does it profess to speak their senti- "ments. In short, I have spoken and acted "on behalf of thirty Bishops, and of more than "five millions of Catholics, whom the Bill con-

" cerns, and whose religious business I am au-
" thorized to transact." Moving then to the door, instead of acting as he was authorized by his Master to act, on such an occasion, *Mat.* x. 14, he satisfied himself with saying; " I hope you will not turn me out of the Ca-
" tholic Church, nor shut me out of the king-
" dom of heaven."—Thus ended this unparalleled scene of inconsistency and violence, which stands briefly thus. A society of Englishmen, having formed themselves to petition the Legislature against oppression and the denial of their civil rights, fall foul of their fellow Englishman, for exercising the common right of subjects, that of representing his case to Parliament! And again, it stands thus. A society of Catholics, acknowledging their Bishops to be the divinely-constituted judges and guardians of their Religion, publicly insult and persecute a Bishop for doing his duty in these particulars! The writer's claim to speak, on behalf of the Prelates and Catholic millions of the kingdom, was very soon justified. On the very day, and at the very hour that about two dozen out of an assembly of 65 Catholics were trying to disgrace Dr. M. for defending the common Religion, the Bishops of Ireland, to the number of 27, being synodically assembled, were passing a vote of approbation in his favour, too lofty to be here inserted. Shortly after this, the laity

of Dublin, being assembled to the number of 4,000, bestowed upon him equal commendations; whose example was quickly followed by numerous other Catholic assemblies throughout the other parts of Ireland. After these came an address of thanks to the writer from Liverpool, signed by above 4,000 names. But what was of far greater consequence than all these praises, was the decision of the above-mentioned Prelates respecting the Bill, passed three days before their commendatory resolution. In this they declare that, "Certain ecclesiastical clauses or securi-"ties contained in the Bill are utterly incom-"patible with the discipline of the Catholic "Church;" and that they "cannot assent to "those regulations without incurring the heavy "guilt of SCHISM." It is the more remarkable, that the historian should pass over all this matter in his *Memoirs*, as the same Board Meeting which censured Dr. M. passed a vote of thanks to him.

THE NEW PLAN OF PROCEEDING.

There always had been a party in the Board, who were exceedingly desirous of following their pastors in matters of religion; but they, in fact, claimed to direct these pastors in the road by which they would be led; whereas our learned historian and his little party, with greater consistency, took the crosier into their

own hands on every occasion, and dictated equally to pastors and people new doctrinal oaths and resolutions, together with whatever changes of discipline suited their politics to devise, without consulting with any ecclesiastical authority whatever. Whether the latter party yielded to the former spontaneously or by force is not known to the writer, nor does he know when or by what precise means it was planned to make ecclesiastical authority subservient to the purposes of worldly politics: all that he presumes to vouch for, are the facts themselves, as they appeared in the face of the public, and all his reasoning on those facts is confined to the maxim of eternal truth: *The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.*—*Luke* xvi. 8. According to the present plan, there were three points to be carried; the first was to collect a synod of Prelates, who, by their number might, in some degree equipoise the Irish Prelature: for which purpose it was necessary to engage the two Scotch V. V. A. to meet the three English V. V. A. with their two coadjutors. The second was to get the parent stock of the late Bill, namely, the Tavern Resolution, which had been censured by the thirty Prelates, including the English agent, approved of and adopted by the British synod. The last was, on the credit of this synod, to get the Bill itself sanctioned

by Mgr. Quarantotti, Secretary of the Propaganda, who, during the banishment of the Pope and Cardinals from Rome, was supposed to possess sufficient authority for this purpose. These being objects of so much importance to the Board, its Secretary, by a new precedent, was empowered to defray the travelling and other expenses of the personages concerned in them; which was done accordingly.* After all, this far-fetched assembly was demonstratively not a *Canonical Synod* but a party meeting, irregularly and fraudulently collected together, or, as theologians express it, a *Conciliabulum*. For, first, it was not summoned by the proper officer, the senior Prelate, as the latter afterwards assured the writer by letter. His account of the meeting was, that certain Prelates wrote to tell him that *they were coming to pay him a visit* in the North, and that he could not refuse their company. In the next place, the second V. A., though under no disqualification except the frowns of the Board, so far from being invited to the assembly, was studiously excluded from it. Lastly, certain other Prelates, who made it the condition of their attending the meeting, that the writer should be invited to

* "The Board promised to pay the expenses, but I was "out of pocket."—Letter from one of the parties present Dec. 10, 1813.

it, were decoyed and imposed upon in that particular.*

With respect to the wordy Pastoral, composed in the South, and palmed on the unsuspecting Pastor of the North, under date of Oct. 27, 1813, enough has been said above, to shew that no garbling of sentences, or other arts of logic, can ever justify that fatal Fifth Resolution of the St. Alban's Tavern, which not only the Irish Prelates had censured as "eventually prejudicial to our Church-dis-"cipline," but which the English Prelates themselves had voted against, as "involving "the spiritual interests of the Districts;" much less can they prove it lawful, for Catholics "to concur in arrangements for securing the "establishments" of a heterodox Religion.†

* "Having only arrived here (at Durham) the night pre-"ceding, I was very much disappointed indeed when I "did not find you here: having written to N. N. before I "left home, expressing my most sincere wishes of your "attending the meeting. On my arrival at Newcastle, I "had the satisfaction to learn that you were here, and was "only undeceived on my arrival. Though the Board had "not used you as I wished, had not you a right to join your "brethren wherever they happened to assemble?—Agree-"ably to your request, I asked: *why you had not been in-"vited to this meeting?* and even took pen and ink to return "you their precise answer.—I received no explicit answer." Letter from one of the parties present. Durham, Nov. 1, 1813.

† In the refinement of his logic, the Pastoral-writer has fallen into a fresh theological error, where he asserts that,

Such is the first part of this unfortunate Pastoral: the rest consists in its obvious meaning of very ill-timed encomiums on the piety of certain persons, who, a little before, had disedified the Catholic public, by their disregard of ecclesiastical unity and authority.—What passed at the meeting respecting the business which next follows, and which our historiographer connects with the Tavern-Resolution,* the present writer is not informed of: most certainly nothing passed at it authorizing falsehood, misrepresentation, or deception of any kind.

MGR. QUARANTOTTI'S RESCRIPT.

The writer had received a letter, dated Feb. 15, 1813, from this pious and well-meaning Secretary, containing a catalogue of complaints, which had been forwarded to him from England, respecting certain differences between the writer and one of his brethren. These are detailed in his, unanswerable hitherto, but unpublished work, *The Explanation with D. P.*

" It *belongs to the province of the Legislature* to make ade-
" quate provision for the *maintenance of the religious esta-*
" *blishments* of the kingdom."—For, as an able Divine, who refused to read the Pastoral in his chapel, argued: *If the Religious establishments of the kingdom are contrary to Christ's institution, it can belong to the province of no one to provid for their maintenance: atqui—ergo.*

* Page 196.

The Secretary's letter was satisfactorily answered by the twenty-nine Prelates of Ireland, in their synodical epistle of Nov. 12, 1813, addressed to the then Prefect of the Congregation, Cardinal de Pietro, which is too precious and luminous a monument of the ecclesiastical history of this age and country, to be omitted in the present Supplement.* The Rescript in question is dated a year later than the former letter, namely, Feb. 16, 1814, and was fraudulently obtained from the unsuspecting good old man by a practised Scotch agent at Rome,† through a series of gross falsehoods and malicious misrepresentations, which he professed to derive from high authority in England, but

* See Appendix *G.*

† Possessed of great sagacity, experience, and industry, this agent contrived to gain the confidence both of the usurped and the legitimate government of Rome, likewise of Napoleon, and of the British ministry. Crossing the channel, on one occasion, when the ports were almost hermetically sealed, with Lord Castlereagh's passports in his pockets, he no sooner reached Paris than, giving himself out to be "*directly* the agent of *all* the British Prelates, and "*indirectly* of *all the Irish Prelates*," he claimed a right to regulate that nursery of treason, Napoleon's English College in Paris, and asserted that the Ex-emperor, *by founding it had laid* SEVEN MILLIONS *of British Catholics under obligations to him.* Could he say any thing more effectual to promote the threatened invasion? On the restoration of Louis XVIII., the Memorial alluded to was published from the State Records.

which the writer hopes will still be disavowed by the personages to whom he imputed them. As these were public in Rome, and the knowledge of them in these islands will clear the character of a venerable Prelate, now a Cardinal, and vindicate the cause of the Roman See itself, the writer will give a brief analysis of the documents he alludes to.—Professing to translate into Italian letters of great authority, which he had received from England, the agent says, in one of them, dated June 21, 1813: "In my last I told you that our petition for "Emancipation was debated *during four whole* "*days** in the House of Commons, and "that we obtained, by a great majority of "votes, that it should be committed, and "Messrs. Grattan, Canning, &c. were ap-"pointed to extend the Bill.—By the tenor of "this, Catholics are admitted into both Houses "of Parliament. An oath is required of the "Catholics, with some CHANGES FOR THE "BETTER of the Irish Oath.—There was a "clause by which no one could be made a "Bishop in these kingdoms, who was not born "of British or Irish Parents, and who had not "resided in these kingdoms for some years. "This was the ONLY CLAUSE which to "us—of England and Scotland—gave the

* "Per quatro giorni intieri."

" greatest offence,* because it limited the juris-
" diction of the H. See; and we *strongly pro-*
" *tested* that, without the leave of Rome, *we*
" *could not adhere to that Unitation.*—The two
" first times the Bill was read, we had a great
" majority of votes: on the day fixed for the
" third reading, Mgr. M. caused a printed
" paper, which he had written, to be dis-
" tributed among the Members of Parliament,
" in which he *inveighs against all the clauses of*
" *the Bill,* but particularly against that which
" appoints a Committee to certify the *loyalty*
" of persons to be made Bishops. He affirms,
" with great vehemence, that *no one can, directly*
" *or indirectly, adhere to that statute, without*
" *becoming, ipso facto, a schismatic.* Partly
" owing to this, and partly to the opposition
" made in Ireland, the Bill, after a long speech
" of Abbot, was rejected by a majority of four
" votes. Mgr. M., in his *other publications*
" *during the discussion of the Bill,* has said
" many things *injurious to our friends.* Among
" these, the Knight Hippisley, &c. &c. The
" Irish Catholics make a great noise and se-
" ditious threats. You know the object of a
" great part of them, which is total separation
" of Ireland from England. And yet, with
" all their clamour for the abrogation of the

* " Questa era l'unica clausola che à noi—d'Inghilterra
" e de Scotia dava il maggior fastidio."

" penal laws, they *would be very sorry that this* " *were granted,* because then they would *want* " *a pretext for rioting,* and inveighing against " Government."

The same Scotch agent presented the translation of another letter, dated July 28, 1813, as from the same personage who had written the former. If this be the fact, his sentiments on the subject of the Bill must have undergone a great change in the course of five weeks. " I " wrote to you," he is made to say, "last month " that the Bill for our Emancipation was re- " jected at the third reading of it which to us " —— and Clergy, considering the circum- " stances, was *a subject of great pleasure,* as " there were *several clauses* in it, which could " not be admitted without the consent of the " H. See. As it is in a manner *certain* that, " next year, the same Bill, but we hope modi- " fied, will be proposed, and in all probability " passed into a law, it is necessary to take the " first opportunity of submitting it to the de- " cision of the Apostolic See. I remark in " your last, of May 18, the following words: " *If the oath of the Bill is the same which circu-* " *lates in our Gazettes, the Propaganda will* " *find much difficulty in approving of it.* I do " not know how the oath has been represented " on the Continent; but this I know that *it con-* " *tains nothing but what is in the oath which we*

" *have always taken, with the approbation of the H.*
" *See,* or *which the Irish Catholics have taken* for
" the last twenty years."* The present writer will not sift the reasoning in defence of the new oath, which is contained in the letter, much less will he detail the long theological dissertation on appointing Bishops, which the letter-writer professes to have received from the lips of a Protestant minister of state, especially as this is reported as a great secret: he will, therefore, content himself with observing that, if the Bill contained " *several clauses which could not be ad-*
" *mitted,*" under the circumstances in which it was proposed, and if the failure of it was " *a sub-*
" *ject of great pleasure,*" to the letter-writer, his friends and the Clergy, some little mercy, if not merit, might be conceived to be due to the unfortunate Mgr. M., to whose opposition that failure had in the preceding letter been chiefly ascribed. Instead, however, of any thing like this, he is spoken of, in the second letter, with much the same disrespect as in the first.† The letter next details the substance of a very orthodox and religious declaration on the part of

* The assertions in italics are all untrue.

† The following is one of the passages respecting the present writer, alluded to above. " E inutile di ricordarvi,
" que scrivo in nome di tutti della Gran Brettagna eccet-
" tuato Mgr. M. Questo punto fu stabilito in presenza
" vostra prima che partisse de costi."

certain laymen; which, however, had not been supported by the recent conduct of some of them. This is introductory to a petition for the *indulgence of the Apostolic See.** In conclusion, the letter-writers are introduced begging for Mgr. Quarantotti's directions in the following terms, accompanied with the false description of the Bill that will be seen: "the Bill "in all probability will, early in the next ses- "sion, pass into a law. The punishment of "the refractory is banishment. In case the S. "Congregation should not approve of the "clauses, how are we to act? Are we to tell "all the Catholics of these kingdoms that, ra- "ther than consent to those clauses, they must "*go with us into perpetual exile and leave Great* "*Britain without a single Catholic in it? We,* "*with the divine grace, will be obedient children* "*of the H. See; if she commands us to go to* "*the gallows, we will go thither cheerfully.*"† In a third letter, the principal writer is introduced complaining of the grievous weight on

* "Sperano che in quanto puol la Sede Apostolica sera "indulgente."

† "Debbiamo dire *a tutti i Cattolici di questi Regni,* che "piutosto che consentire ad essa clausole, devono, insieme "con noi, *andiare in perpetuo essilio e lasciar la Gran Bret-* "*tagna senza un solo Cattolico?* Noi colla divina grazzia "saremo obbedienti figli della S. Sede: se si commanda "di *andare al patibolo,* con alacrita *vi anderemo.*"

his shoulders, by being employed to execute the commissions of his brethren, as well as his own ;* as likewise, amusing the Romans with an account of the triumph of the Catholic Religion in England, by the prayers which the writer affirmed are offered up for the Pope in the Protestant Churches.†

Thus deceived in all the leading circumstances of the case, by letters which the Scotch agent professed to have received from the most respectable authority in England ; and made to believe, in particular, that the Bill which had been thrown out of Parliament in 1813, would be brought into it, or had been brought into it again at the beginning of the current year 1814, that the long oath, contained in it, was nothing but an amendment of the Irish oath (for at the date of the Rescript he had not seen the Bill itself nor so much as the oath); that the most ostensible opposer of the Bill was an irrational Prelate, who censured propositions before he knew what they were, and pronounced sentence of schism against Catholics for mere ignorance or inadvertence, and above

* " Oltre il peso di questo—che, da se solo e *troppo per* " *le mie spalle,* mi si addossono mille affari degli alteri."

† " Vi non si cessa da noi di porgere giorno e notte, le " nostre pregiere per nostro amato Padre. *L'istesso,* lo cre- " dereste ? *si fa da molti chiesi Protestanti* di questo regno. " Che triomfo per la Religione !"

all, persuaded that the question before him was concerning the great exaltation of the Catholic Religion in the British islands, on one hand, and its total ruin, by the transportation of every man, woman, and child,* professing it on the other;† no wonder that the humane

* Had the good Prelate seen the Bill itself, instead of the report of its contents presented to him, he would have discovered that only the Clergy, and the other Catholics who were to derive benefit from the Bill, were to be called upon to take the oath; and that, of course, there was no danger of the Catholic millions being transported for refusing it, even though Government had resolved on depopulating Ireland. It is rather surprising, however, that neither the Scotsman, nor any of the parties concerned in drawing up the Rescript, should have calculated how many years it would take the Royal Navy of England (supposing they could have been withdrawn from the defence of our coasts in the heat of the war) to transport *five millions of people*, with their necessary provisions, to Botany Bay or Canada. When the infamous Oates had deposed in Parliament that 30,000 Spanish pilgrims were about to invade England from Compostella, he was sadly disconcerted by a member's asking him, *where the ships were, to convey them?*

† The sense in which the letters were understood at Rome is ascertained by the following official report of their contents, drawn up by the intelligent *Minutante* of the Congregation. "Un oggetto de la piu alta importenza dal quali "puo dependere o l'esaltazione o la totale rovina del Catto- "licismo nelle Isole Brittanichi, esige per parte della S. "Sede un prompto provedimento—per non esporre 37 Ves- "covi, un floridissimo clero e presso cinque miglione di "Cattolicial pericolo dell' esilio, e vedere affatto bandita "de quei Regni la Cattolica Religione."—Ex Ristretto.

and pious old man should have been prevailed upon to outstep his authority and his province, and to sign his name to the document prepared for him. It may easily be conceived with what exultation and speed the negociator hastened to convey this laboured instrument to his employers in London, still hoping to arrive there before the passing of the Bill to which it related. However, on reaching that city, at the end of April, he found every thing quiet respecting Catholic politics, and the Bill itself put off *sine die*. In these circumstances, he consoled himself and his party with detailing the titles of the four Prelates, including Mgr. Quarantotti, and of the four theologians who had sanctioned the Rescript, and with assuring them that the Pope himself, on his return to Rome, could not revoke it. Our learned historian, in his account of this transaction, has fallen into an egregious error, where he describes the Secretary of the Propaganda, Mgr. Q., who had been left in Rome by Napoleon, when all his superiors were banished from it, as possessed of all the ecclesiastical spiritual powers of the See of Rome, "the appointment of the episcopal order "alone excepted."* The fact is, he had only the *ordinary powers* of the congregation : but was not authorized to *change the canonical discipline*

* Page 196.

of the Church of Ireland, or the Pontifical *Regulations of the English Mission,* or to *unite the Scotch with the English V. V. A.* in presenting to vacant Districts, as is attempted in the Rescript. Another error of the historian's is, that "It does not appear that the Congregation of "the Pope's venerable brethren has taken the "Rescript into consideration," as he promised they should do.* The truth is, it was considered of and rejected by them, at an early stage of the business; and this rejection was notified in the letter from Genoa, which declares that *all former plans* had been rejected. Finally, it is matter of surprise, that Mr. C. B., who is so sharp-sighted in seeing, and so severe in reproving all interference of the ecclesiastical power with civil concerns, should have taken no notice of the Roman Secretary's mandate to the English Catholics, in the event of the Bills having passed, to present "an address "of thanks to His Majesty, and his most mag-"nificent Council, for so great a benefit."

RESTORATION OF THE POPE.

The bearer of the Rescript, on his journey to England, must have passed very near to the Confessor of the Faith, P. PIUS VII., on the latter's return from a French prison to his ca-

* Pp. 197, 198.

pital. The scourge of God had been broken to pieces, and the delivered kingdoms and states were joyfully singing: *How hath the oppressor ceased!** when the writer of these pages resolved to have recourse to the true Apostolic See, in order to give it an account of his own conduct and of the state of Catholicity in these regions; both which had been so much misrepresented to it. A month later an Irish Prelate, of greater dignity and merit than himself, was associated with him in the latter part of his commission. The same tide, which conveyed him across the channel, conveyed one of his brethren, who was bound to Paris on business, unconnected with the English mission, but which proved in the end to have great influence upon it. Landing on the opposite coast, he passed through the several camps of the conquering armies from Boulogne to Parma: namely, Russian, Prussian, Austrian, and English camps; and he viewed with horror the dire effects of war, which appeared throughout a great part of his journey; bridges broken down, forests shot to shivers, villages laid in ruins, dead horses infecting the air, and human bodies floating down the rivers. Arriving at the Christian capital, a few days after the Pope, he found all the four Prelates and all the four

* Isaias, xiv. 4.

theologians who had sanctioned the Rescript, in disgrace and penance. They had acted wrong in that business, for which they pleaded in excuse the wrong information they had received in the translated letters; and they had acted worse in taking the prohibited oath to the Usurper, for which they had no excuse at all, but human infirmity. It will readily be conceived that Mgr. Q. should decline conversation with the writer concerning each of his letters, namely, that of Feb. 15, 1813, and his recent Rescript of Feb. 16, 1814. This, however, was not the case with the other Prelates and Cardinals: they were, without exception, cheerful, communicative, and friendly.

The writer would not, to save his right hand, commit to paper a line injurious to Religion, or the Holy See; such, however, he does not conceive to be the few following circumstances of his nine months' residence at that See.—He was received by a certain venerable personage, at his first audience, with more than that personage's accustomed benevolence; the latter saying, that he had heard much of the writer, and wished much to see him. He then hastily exclaimed: "Has the Act of Parliament pas-"sed? Have the Catholics taken the oath?" Adding: "he (Mgr. Q.) ought not to have "written that letter without authority from the

" H. See." To the inquiries the writer answered: " there is no question, Holy Father, " about an oath or an Act of Parliament: " the Emancipation will take place, but not " till there is a great change in his Majes- " ty's counsels. In the mean time, schisma- " tical measures have been carried on among " our Catholics, as I am prepared to prove " to your Cardinals."—The remainder of the conversation related to the personages before whom these proofs were to be laid. The head of these, the writer found to be the experienced and religious Cardinal Litta, whom the Pope commended, among his other qualifications, for his knowledge of the English language. The writer had numerous interviews with this venerable Cardinal, in one of the first of which he was directed to draw up a Memorial of the whole case, to be laid before the Pope's Council. This he executed in the course of two or three days, concluding his Memorial in words to this effect: " I know I have numerous and " powerful enemies, Catholics as well as Pro- " testants, whom I have provoked by my in- " flexibility in defending and securing our " Holy Religion: if on this, or on any other " account, the See Apostolic judge it to be for " the advantage of Religion, that I should " retire from my situation, I make an unre-

" served tender of resigning it." A sufficient number of days for the examination of the Memorial having elapsed, on the eve of S. S. Peter and Paul's festival, the writer was summoned to an official audience, when he was assured that his *Memorial had given great satisfaction, and that the writer of it was in high favour with the venerable College, and the Holy Father himself; that he had well defended his cause, and that of the Church, and this on its true ground;* finally, *that his resignation could not be accepted of.* On various other occasions, it was signified to the writer, by the above-named other personages of equal dignity, that *he had done his duty, and ought to proceed in the track he had hitherto pursued;* but it was added, that this *ought to be done with moderation, and without irritating the feelings of others.**

* In deference to so high an authority, the writer declares that if in defending the cause of Religion, he should in any instance, have exceeded the *moderamen justæ tutelæ*, he is sorry for it, and ready to make satisfaction to the injured party, at the discretion of an intelligent and conscientious arbiter, to be indifferently chosen. It appears to him, that in the present work, and his other works, the writer has spared the character and feelings of his adversaries to the best of his power, with the exception of one domestic enemy of the Church, whom he despairs of reclaiming, and therefore thinks it his duty to disarm.

CARDINAL LITTA'S LETTER FROM GENOA.

With all the Scotch agent's assurances that the Rescript was irrevocable, his paymasters of the Cisalpine Club were far from being easy on this head, now that the Pope and the genuine Propaganda were restored. They therefore obliged him to retrace his steps back to Rome, in order to get that instrument renewed; and they furnished him, for this purpose, with one of those addresses from the manufactory of Lincoln's Inn, which are there fabricated at a short notice, for all sorts of purposes, and in particular, either for the Pope or against him. The present address,* which is dated June 17, 1814, of course was of the former kind. It complains of "bosom enemies," who had represented the addressers, or some of them, as "ready to barter for the temporal, the eternal:" whereas, they profess that "there is "not one among them all who would not have "turned with disdain and horror, from the impious and foolish traffic." The "bosom "enemies" here spoken of, are the Prelates, who, in the discharge of their duty, had laboured to restrain the addressers from committing the high acts of schism above described, at

* See Appendix to Hist. Mem. p. 473.

a time when they had not even the sanction of Mgr. Quarantotti in their defence; and the whole language of the Address seems to argue a confidence, that the existence of *The Blue Books,* and of the attempts to propagate *The French Constitution of the Clergy* in England, and of *The Cisalpine,* or Anti-papal *Club,* and of *the votes of thanks to the proposers of the late schismatical clauses,* was totally unknown at Rome. However, as the only ground assigned for this confidence was the fraudulent Rescript, the petitioners earnestly pray that they "may receive an assurance from His "Holiness, that the depositaries of his autho- "rity have spoken the genuine and full senti- "ments of his paternal heart."* The answer to this address was paternal, though tardy; it was, however, made known to the writer, from the time of its reception, that its prayer could not be granted, and he himself, though glanced at in it, as a prime *bosom-enemy,* continued to be treated by the Holy See as her and the Catholics' genuine friend.† On the other hand, the

* Page 477.

† The writer had received many proofs of the favour and confidence of the Holy See during his residence there, none of which was so gratifying to him as the following. There being question about the practice of English Catholics for a great number of years past, in order to settle an important point of discipline, some time about the beginning of March,

procurer and bearer of the Rescript, on his return to the Christian Capital, had to digest many a severe and humiliating mortification, in return for his agency.

At length the time was come for the H. Father to say something explicit concerning the discipline of the Churches, and Missions of these Islands. This he did through Cardinal Litta, in a letter dated Genoa, April 26, 1815,* copies of which were sent to Archbishop Troy, of Dublin, and to the present writer, a third copy being delivered to Dr. Poynter, who was on the spot. The Pope and Cardinals were then completely in the power of the British Government, having been obliged to take refuge from the overwhelming arms of Murat in a city defended by its troops and navy: nevertheless, no dereliction of principles, or other unworthy concession of Catholic discipline, to Protestant prejudices, is to be found in that letter. It consists of three parts. The first regards a form of oath to be taken by Catholics, instead of the awkward and bigotted forms now required of them in both islands; forms which the Holy See justly regards as injurious and in-

when Rome was full of English Catholics, ecclesiastics as well as laics, the Pope said to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, as the latter testified to the writer: "Let us ask "Dr. M., *he will tell us the truth.*"

* Page 198. Append. pp. 481.

sulting to the Catholic Religion, and to herself in particular.* It is probable that some terms respecting this change had been proposed and agreed upon between a certain British minister and a certain Cardinal, at the Congress of Vienna.—The second part of the letter relates to the long contested article of the appointment of Catholic Bishops in the British Isles. Treating of this matter, the Holy See begins with rejecting all former plans that had been suggested to her concerning it;† namely, Sir John Throckmorton's *direct appointment by the Crown;* Mr. Ponsonby's *unlimited negative for making the king head of the Catholic Church;* the present writer's *limited negative, confined to avowed charges of disloyalty or sedition, against the candidate;* Mr. Charles Butler's Presbyterian scheme of a *lay domination in a divinely constituted Episcopal Church;* and, lastly, the favourite *domestic nomination* of the Irish Catholics, which supposes a *Concordatum between the Pope and the Catholic Bishops.*—All these plans being rejected, His Holiness proceeds to GIVE

* It is much to be wished that one of the three forms here proposed were substituted to the present oaths of allegiance: at the same time it is to be regretted that the person who drew them up, for want of sufficient knowledge of the British Constitution, should propose in each one of them, to make us swear, *Obedience to the Sovereign.* Good subjects of this realm are *loyal to the King,* but they *only obey the laws.*

† "Omnino rejectis aliis quibuscunque propositis."

LEAVE *to the ordinary presenters to vacant Episcopacies, who in Ireland are the Bishops and Clergy, in England and Scotland the Vicars Apostolic, to send up to Government on each vacancy a list of those clergymen whom they deem qualified to fill it to the end, that, if Government have any thing to object against any of them, their names may be struck off the list;* yet so that a sufficient number of those whom the Bishops have thought qualified may be left on the list, for the Pope to exercise his free judgment and choice in the appointment of one of them. This plan, which is nothing but a project in the existing circumstances, His Holiness promises to publish in a Brief, addressed to the Catholic Bishops and Faithful of the British Islands, whenever the Emancipation is granted, according to the terms which he signifies have been agreed upon between him and the British Ministry.—The third part of the letter turns on the proposed examination of Rescripts and other documents coming from the Holy See by the Civil Power. On this head the Cardinal says, on the part of his Holiness: "As for the exa-
" mination of the Rescripts, to which I have
" alluded, or to what is called the *Regium Ex-*
" *equator, it cannot even be made a subject of*
" *negociation!* As such a practice must *essen-*
" *tially affect the free exercise of that Supremacy*
" *of the Church which is given in trust by God,*

" it would assuredly be *criminal to permit or* " *transfer it to any lay power:* and indeed such " power never has been granted (*even to* " *Catholic States*)—The Church cannot give " up its right."—And yet have we not recently witnessed the chief of those Catholic addressers, who boast so loudly to His Holiness of their religious zeal, and express so much indignation at the charge of " impiously trafficking and " bartering the eternal for the temporal," actually concurring to the transfer of this *Divine right of the Supremacy* to a lay power for their own temporal advantage, and treating as *bosom enemies* their authorized Pastors, who attempted to withdraw them from that traffic.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS TO THE PRELATES OF IRELAND.

It was a considerable time before the Letter from Genoa was published to the Catholics of Ireland; and when published, it was far from satisfying the greater part of them, as they dreaded that the least interference of a Protestant Ministry with the appointment of their Pastors, would, in the end, prove ruinous to their Religion. Hence it was judged expedient, by the venerable Prelates of that island, to depute two of their body to make certain representations to His Holiness on the subject,

which occasioned the long letter, in the Pope's own name, of Feb. 1, 1816.* It contains nothing new, but is merely an explanation and defence of the former letter from Genoa. His Holiness proves that he has not conferred any power *of nomination, presentation, or postulation* on the British Government, contrary to the tenor of the declaration of Benedict XIV. made to the King of Prussia; but that he had barely signified to the Prelates themselves how far, and no farther, he was willing to proceed in the event of a complete Emancipation taking place; namely, that when they themselves had in each instance made out lists of clergymen, qualified in every respect for the episcopal functions and dignity, the Civil Government, if it suspected the principles of any of them, might object to the promotion of a certain number of them, yet so as to leave a sufficient number of names on the list, for the Holy See to exercise its judgment in the appointment of one of them. His Holiness strongly argues that as *all the candidates are to be chosen by the Catholic Prelates, and* as the ultimate *appointment of some one among them* in every instance *will rest with himself,* there can be no danger of unfit or unworthy candidates being promoted to the detriment of the Catholic Religion.—Thus

* Append. to Hist. Mem. p. 486.

this grand cause is at last settled, as far as concerns Catholics, by the only power competent to make a change in their discipline, and the change which it eventually engages to make is seen to be *slight in itself* and *safe in its consequences*. But as Protestant Statesmen do not acknowledge that power, it will require all the firmness of the Catholics, in the event of a new Emancipation-Bill, to save themselves from being hurried away by those Statesmen, beyond the bounds marked out in the letters just mentioned. In proof of this, it may be mentioned that when the present plan was first made known to the writer at Rome, by the eminent personage who wrote the letter from Genoa, he observed what had happened at the late restoration of the Church of France. His Holiness entered into a Concordat with Napoleon, highly beneficial to Religion, when presently the latter tacked to it *The Organic Laws*, exceedingly injurious to Religion.

THE CATHOLIC BIBLE SOCIETY.

So strange and unheard of an institution as that of a *Catholic Bible Society*, announcing in its very title a departure from the Catholic *Rule of Faith*, the powerful patronage of this Society by many of the leading men of the body, and the conspicuous part which the

learned historian acted in promoting and directing it: these circumstances seem to entitle it to a distinguished place in *The Historical Memoirs;* but as it is not so much as mentioned in them, it is proper to give some account of it in these *Supplementary Memoirs.*

It was in 1804 that the Bibliomania seized on the imagination of a large proportion of English Protestants. They fancied that reading the Bible, in whatever sense the readers might understand it, whether in that of the Unitarians, or the Trinitarians; whether in that of the Calvinists or the Arminians; finally, whether in that of the Anabaptists or the Quakers, was the grand specific against the errors and irreligion of the times; whereas its obvious tendency is to multiply errors, and to make men indifferent about the specific truths of divine revelation in general. With equal inconsistency they persuaded themselves that men, however ignorant or ill-disposed, would be reclaimed from their vicious habits by the bare lecture of the sacred text; nor did the frantic, the impious, and the sanguinary scenes of the Grand Rebellion, which are universally traced to the unrestrained reading and exposition of the Scriptures, in any degree damp the ardour of the Bible-associators. In short, they have now during these fourteen years had full scope for their experiment. They have raised millions of money in support of

their scheme, and have distributed among the people millions of Bibles and Testaments: yet so far from any amelioration in the religion or morals of the people, that never was impiety and blasphemy so ripe among them as at the present day, while the records of the courts of justice demonstrate that public crimes go on year by year, in proportion to the progress of the Bible Societies, four-fold and even six-fold, till the very principles of society and morality seem nearly obliterated in a great proportion of the population.—Still it cannot be denied, that the unrestrained lecture and interpretation of the Bible is the corner-stone of Protestantism; whereas *the Word of God, unwritten as well as written, and announced by the authorized Pastors of Christ's Church,* is the eternal Rule of Catholic Faith. How portentous a sight, then, must it have been to the pious and well informed Catholics of the Continent, to see their English brethren (all of them at that time laymen), forming themselves into a Bible Society, for the avowed purpose of instructing the poor of their communion in their religion from the bare text of the Scripture! Still these Catholics had not altered their Rule of Faith; but having been reproached by a certain powerful party in Parliament that they were *enemies of the Bible,* they took the abovementioned extraordinary step, to compound with the prejudices of that

party, in order to gain their votes for the Emancipation. However, being subsequently instructed that they had invaded the province of the Priesthood, by resolving as they did at their setting out, March 8, 1813; first, that: "It is "highly desirable to have a subscription en- "tered into by the R. Catholics of Great Bri- "tain, for the purpose of promoting a gratuitous "distribution of the Holy Scriptures—second- "ly, that a Committee for carrying the above "Resolution into effect be appointed at the "next meeting of the Board"—they resolved, on the 27th of the same month, that "the Vicars "Apostolic of Great Britain be invited to be- "come Patrons of the said Society." It is probable, that one or more of those Prelates may have accepted of the Society's invitation, with the view of keeping it in order; certain it is, that the present writer rejected all the overtures of this nature that were made to him, some of them from a high ecclesiastical quarter, referring at the same time to what he had recently published concerning *Catholic Bible Societies*.* The Board next proceeded to organize its Society by appointing "a President, "twelve Vice-presidents, a treasurer, a secre- "tary, a Committee of twenty-five members, "besides the officers to be chosen by the sub- "scribers and the governors." The subscrip-

* See Appendix *H*.

tions were to be from one guinea to thirty guineas annually, and to be solicited of the Catholics throughout Britain.—Yet the whole of this mighty preparation ended in the production of a small stereotype edition of the New Testament, without the usual distinction of verses, and nearly without notes.* It was the most incorrect edition of the Testament that, perhaps, ever was published; and, instead of being distributed *gratis*, it was offered for sale in boards, at a much higher price than the common Catholic edition, with the notes and verses, was sold for bound. It was spurned at by the Catholics, who scarcely bought a copy of it; and, instead of conciliating Protestants, it excited their heavy indignation and complaints against the Board in general, and our historian in particular, as having wilfully deceived them.†

* A serious difference is understood to have taken place in the Board, respecting their Stereotype Testament, Mr. C. B. contending that it ought to be published without any notes, the London V. A. insisting that there should be notes. At length a compromise seems to have taken place on the subject, at the Meeting of May 10; when it was resolved, that "all such notes as are offensive to the just feelings of "our Christian brethren be omitted." In consequence of this, almost every note of Bishop Challoner's edition, which was necessary for rendering the Testament safe in the hands of the ignorant, was left out of the stereotype edition.

† See Correspondence on the formation, objects and plan of the Roman Catholic Bible-Society *passim*, also the con-

In conclusion, the stereotype Testament became a bankrupt concern, and the plates of it are supposed to have been sold to the pewterers. At length appeared the Pope's Brief of June the 29th, 1816, which designates the institution of Bible-Societies as " a crafty device " for weakening the foundations of Religion."*

THE BIBLE SCHOOLS.

Besides the above-mentioned *Catholic Bible Society*, there was another, under the same name, and formed about the same time, consisting, for the most part, of Methodists and other Protestant Dissenters, who, in the exuberance of their bigotry for withdrawing Catholics from their religion, associated and established a fund for publishing and distributing the Catholic Translation of the Scriptures, but without its notes; in order, as they afterwards declared in print, " to afford the benefit of a turbid stream " to a thirsty and perishing people."† Defeated in their primary object, which was to get the Catholics, and especially the Catholic clergy, to co-operate with them, in substituting the dead letter of the text for the living voice of the Pastors, which manœuvre they knew to be

troversy carried on between Mr. Charles Butler and Mr. Blair, in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1814.

* Catholicon, vol. v. page 102. † Correspondence, p. 4.

the ready means of undermining the Catholic faith, they had recourse to another device, which needed not the assistance of the Catholics; this was the establishment of *Bible Schools*. Their first establishment of this sort was in St. Giles's Parish in London, where most of the poor Catholics of the West end of that town reside. Having found an Irishman, an apostate from Catholicity, who, however, passed himself off for a Catholic as long as this was practicable, they opened a free school under his direction, for Catholic children; the fundamental rules of which are, that no Catechism or other book be allowed in it, but the Bible alone; and that no clergyman, on any account, be permitted to set his foot within it. Raising money as they did, by public advertisements, in support of this Anti-Catholic institution (by which means they were enabled to bribe the poor children into a partiality for their system with victuals and clothes), how great was the astonishment of the whole Catholic body to see the name of Charles Butler, Esq. advertised in the Newspapers, as an annual subscriber of two guineas towards promoting it! From the West end of London this institution was carried to the East end of it, where, on the banks of the Thames, the great mass of labourers consists chiefly of Irish Catholics and their families. Here also the Catholic director and

historian exerted his talents and influence in behalf of this Anti-Catholic system. Having laboured in vain to get the Vicar Apostolic of the London District to sanction or countenance the Bible schools of that quarter [in praise of which he had got up a formal harangue, to be delivered at a public dinner], he contrived to have him summoned before a Parliamentary Committee of Education, then sitting, in order to extort answers from him to certain questions which the Prelate had very properly refused to give to the historian himself. To be brief: the plot exploded prematurely, to the great confusion of its contriver.* From England this insidious establishment has been carried into Ireland, and was widely diffused there, till it was seasonably checked by the vigilance and zeal of the Apostolic See.† The promoters of

* See the Examination of Dr. P. by the Committee.

† "Information has reached the Sacred Congregation, "that Bible Schools, supported by the funds of the hete- "rodox, have been established in most parts of Ireland, "in which, under pretence of charity, the inexperienced "of both sexes, but particularly the peasantry and the "poor, are allured with the blandishments and gifts of the "masters, and infected with the fatal poison of false doc- "trine. Every exertion, therefore, must be made to keep "the youth away from these destructive schools. In the "bowels of Jesus Christ we exhort you to guard your flock, "&c." Circular of the Propagand. signed Card. Fontana, Sept. 18, 1819.

it clearly shew by their conduct, that they would rather see the Irish destitute of every species of Religion, than continue members of that *One Holy Catholic Church*, which they themselves profess to believe in.

RESTORATION OF A RIGHT UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE PRELATES.

It has been seen above, that ever since the beginning of the year 1810, there had been a misunderstanding among the Catholic Prelates of these islands, the first subject of which was that fatal FIFTH RESOLUTION of Feb. 1, hastily settled by Mr. Butler, on the last day of January, and still more hastily signed the next day, by certain Prelates at a Tavern. This the Bishops of Ireland pronounced to be "an "eventual acquiescence in arrangements, pos- "sibly prejudicial to the integrity and safety of "our Church discipline;"* and their episcopal agent declared, in print, that it covered "ma- "nacles and fetters for Catholic Bishops and "Priests, which, when brought to view, they "would beg with tears to be excused from "wearing."† On the other hand, the few subscribing Prelates denied that the Resolution

* Synod Resol. Feb. 29, 1810.

† Letter to an English Catholic Peer, Feb. 5, p. 6.

contained any engagement whatsoever, saying, that it meant nothing but *a conciliatory disposition* towards Protestants. And when, three years afterwards, the true character of the Resolution appeared glaringly written in the schismatical and persecuting Bill of 1813, they did not seem, even then, sensible of its full import. But, when Sir John Hippisley's Parliamentary Report, consisting with its Supplement of 595 close printed folio pages, and containing all the Jansenistical and irreligious ordinances, which had been extorted by Deistical Ministers and Parliaments from unsuspecting Catholic Sovereigns, during the last century, appeared, their Catholic zeal was fully awakened and roused to action. Year after year the busy Baronet had been calling for a Committee to examine the papers he had collected, through his interest in the Secretary of State's office; and the persons whom he had in his eye, with the view of shewing that, in granting the Emancipation, it was necessary to establish a public office, for himself to fill, in order to manage the Catholic Clergy and discipline. His calls were long disregarded, and in 1813 they experienced the full force of Mr. Canning's caustic wit; but in 1817, that Minister and many of his colleagues changed their opinion, and accordingly Sir John carried his motion, as far as regards his portentous Report. The

present writer met it with a work entitled, *An Expostulation with the Honourable Members of the House of Commons,* in which he shewed that *the laws and practices of Catholic states are no proof of the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic Church, unless they are received and acknowledged by her;* and, in short, that to enact against English Catholics the edicts of the Emperor Joseph II. and other ill-principled or deceived Princes of Catholic states, would be, not only to deprive them of their constitutional Religious liberty, but also to inflict upon them a real Religious persecution.—But, what was of far greater consequence than this publication, was the determination of the three V. V. A. to step forward before the public, in opposition to the threatened mischief. Accordingly, the London Pastor drew up a paper of Resolutions, which was adopted and signed by the senior V. A. and transmitted by him to the Midland Prelate, for his signature, in order that it might be published as the common act of the V. V. A. Its contents are too important, and too creditable to its author, to be omitted int his Supplement.

Resolutions of the undersigned R. C. Bishops, V. V. A.

" 1st. That it is our duty, in the present cir-
" cumstances, to warn the R. Catholics com-

" mitted to our charge, against the opinion " that they may conscientiously assent to regu- " lations respecting the concerns of their Re- " ligion, on the mere ground that similar regu- " lations have occasionally been made and en- " forced in Foreign States.—2dly. That among " the regulations made in foreign States by " arbitrary Sovereigns, there are some, which " are and have been declared by the Bishops " of such states to be inconsistent with the doc- " trine and discipline of the Catholic Church.— " 3dly. That regulations, which concern the " Civil establishment of the Catholic Church " in other countries, are totally inapplicable to " the state of the Catholic Church in this coun- " try, where it has no civil establishment.— " 4thly. That, as official guardians of the Ca- " tholic Church, we deprecate the surrender of " the nomination of Catholic Bishops to a " Prince, who is, by law, the head of a diffe- " rent religious establishment: nor can we as- " sent to the interruption of the free intercourse " in ecclesiastical matters, which must subsist " between the Chief Bishop and the other " Bishops, subordinate Pastors of the R. C. " Church.—5thly. That in framing these Re- " solutions, we have been actuated by an im- " perious sense of duty, and by the purest " spirit of conciliation, regulated however by " the subjoined document of the present autho- " ritative guide of our conduct." [N.B. Here

follows a copy of Card. Litta's letter from Genoa, of April 26, 1815.]

" ✠ WIL. GIBSON."

" *Durham, March* 7, 1817."

These Resolutions, it has been said, were forwarded to the writer for his signature. In return he expressed his warm approbation of their general tendency, but signified that the wording of some of them, in his opinion, needed improvement, which he hoped would be admitted. No alteration, however, in this respect being proposed, and the writer, on the other hand, conceiving that his judgment concerning the Report, and the whole matter connected with it, was sufficiently known to the Public and to Parliament by his *Humble Expostulation,* and by *the Petitions,* signed by himself and about a thousand of his neighbours, which he had recently sent up to the two Houses of Parliament, in which he prayed that, in the event of an Emancipation-Bill, no change whatever might be attempted in the Catholic discipline.* Owing

* Similar Petitions were presented the following year from the same Catholics to the Houses of Parliament. That to the Peers was printed by their order. These and other corresponding Petitions from Liverpool, Manchester, Norfolk, &c. exciting the jealousy of certain Gentlemen who are used to meet and discuss Catholic affairs in Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, they formed a Resolution of establishing what they call *Affiliated Societies* throughout England, under the direction of one or more of their associations, to prevent any

to these circumstances, the intended Circular containing the Resolutions fell to the ground, an event which the writer has never since ceased to lament, and to reproach himself with, as far as he was the cause of it.

But though the Resolutions themselves were not published by more than one of the four Prelates, in whose joint names they ought to have appeared, yet it is plain, from what has been stated, that they had now come to a right understanding of the whole business among themselves and with the Bishops of Ireland; namely, not to go beyond what had been settled at Genoa. The Prelate who did publish the Resolutions was the Western V. A., who, on this occasion, wrote more warmly against religious innovations than the Midland Vicar had done in the *Memorial*, for which he had been expelled from the Board by the leaders of it. Not content with warning his flock against admitting the changes in question, he charges them to *exert themselves actively* in preventing them. Thus he writes in the conclusion of his pastoral: "Wherefore we most earnestly exhort and "*strictly charge* all those among you, *who may* "*have influence* to employ the same, by every "legal and peaceable means, to prevent the

British Catholics from petitioning, addressing, or resolving, but through their agency!

" insertion of clauses in any eventual Bill for " Catholic Emancipation, that may be any " way repugnant to the present discipline of " the Church, and most particularly such as " may tend to give, in any degree, the power " of nomination of Catholic Bishops to a Prince " who is, by law, the head of a different Reli- " gious establishment, or to impede the free " intercourse on all ecclesiastical matters which " must subsist between the chief Bishop and " the members of the Catholic Church."

" *Taunton, April* 18, 1818."

CLOSING OF THE FRENCH SCHISM IN ENGLAND.

The other cause of dissention among the Catholic Prelates of the United Kingdom, was their different mode of judging and acting with respect to a very large proportion of the French ecclesiastics resident in it, who, under the name of Blanchardists, preached and published that *His Holiness Pius VII. had, by his Concordat of* 1801, *formed a phantom of a Church on the basis which Pius VI. had condemned, as impious, heretical, and schismatical,* and who, therefore, refused to hold religious communion with the Church of their country, acknowledged as it is to be a part of the true Church by all Catholics throughout the world. To detect and repress

this fatal system was the principal object of the last Synod of English Prelates, held in February 1810, in which it was resolved unanimously, that: *No French Priest should be permitted to hold faculties, or to say Mass, who refused to acknowledge that His Holiness P. Pius VII. is not a heretic, nor a schismatic, nor the author, nor the abettor of heresy or schism.* The latter clause implies that the Church of France, restored and supported by Pius VII, is *not schismatical,* but truly *Catholic.* This test was soon after promulgated and enforced, throughout the Midland District, where every French Priest (including a Bishop) resident in it, except one, who precipitately withdrew himself, subscribed it. In another District, however, in which the Test ought to have been first published, it was, without any known cause, wholly suppressed. Thus it happened that Priests who were interdicted in one District were competent to officiate in another; corresponding with which difference of discipline, there was a difference of doctrine. The Blanchardist system, which was condemned in the Pastorals of the London District, as *leading to schism,* was pronounced in those of the Central District, and in a synod of the Prelature of Ireland, to be *actual schism,* which the writer proved to be the fact by the Angelic Doctor's definition of a schismatic. Here then was a

most grievous and notorious subject of complaint and disunion on the part of forty Prelates, against some one or two of their brethren in England; which subject was greatly aggravated, when it became known that a notorious and censured abettor of schism had been re-admitted to the exercise of Priestly faculties, without any retractation of that schism. It has been shown above what the solemn judgment of the Irish Prelacy was on this unexampled transaction. At length, however, through the mercy of God, and in consequence of the restoration of the French Monarchy, this subject of offence and disunion was happily removed. This event took place on Septuagesima Sunday, in the year 1818, when an ordinance was published in that District, which had, all along, been the focus of the mischief, requiring all French Priests, as the condition of holding spiritual faculties or saying Mass, to subscribe a test, the same, in effect, as that which had been agreed upon in the synod, and grounded on the above-mentioned definition of St. Thomas of Aquin.

PROJECT OF PERPETUAL PEACE.

The first requisite for this purpose is evidently that the two grand divisions of Catholics, the Clergy and the Laity, should each keep

within its respective province. The Catholic Church is essentially Episcopal, its *Bishops* being *appointed by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God.* Acts, xx. 28. Hence, in execution of this their divine commission, the Vicars Apostolic of England have twice solemnly and publicly declared, that: "None of the "faithful, clergy or laity, ought to take any "new oath, or sign any new declaration in "doctrinal matters, or subscribe any new in-"strument, wherein the interests of Religion "are concerned, without the previous approba-"tion of their respective Bishops."*—Yet it is notorious that, both before and since these solemn declarations, our historian, and a small party of lay Catholics of his marshalling, have been in the habit of framing and publishing doctrinal Protestations, Resolutions, Bills, and Oaths, affecting the religious interests and the consciences of the Catholics in general, and of their very Clergy and Bishops, not only "with-"out the previous approbation of the Bishops," but also without consulting them, or so much as informing them of the steps they take. The inevitable consequence is that, as the Prelates cannot, if they were desirous of it, desert their charge, a collision between the two parties must in every instance, sooner or later, happen.

* Oct. 21, 1789. Jan. 19, 1791.

But, though the Catholic Church were not, by divine institution, Episcopal, would it be decent, or conformable to the practice of any society of Christians, even of those who choose uneducated mechanics for their Pastors, and confer upon them whatever authority the latter pretend to possess, to treat their clergy from the lowest to the highest in the manner above described? or, what is a greater affront, to print their names in uncial letters, at the head of such Protestations, Resolutions, and oaths, as if these instruments originated with them, at the same time that they are not permitted so much as to know their tenor or nature, till they are called upon to subscribe them?—Nor will it suffice to leave the judgment of ecclesiastical subjects to ecclesiastical authority, unless lay dictation, guidance, and influence of every kind is withdrawn from them. Hence the consideration of these matters must be left to the Prelates in their synods and their oratories; without the instructions or advice of lay orators or politicians, and still more without the fascination of popular applause, social banquetting, or private compensation for travelling or other expenses. In case all lay influence is withdrawn, the Pastors are sure to decide and act right.

On the other hand, it is every way proper that the Catholic Nobility and Gentry should stand forward, as the representatives of the

laity, to transact the public business of the body; and, in the first place, that of Religion itself, when this is made known to them by the Prelates. It has been mentioned that the latter, in one of their late synods, unanimously agreed that there are three principal grievances affecting the exercise of the Catholic Religion, to remove which every effort ought to be made: 1st, the situation of Catholic soldiers and sailors: 2dly, the legal invalidity of Catholic marriages: 3dly, the confiscation of funds for the support of Catholic chapels and schools. Now, it does not admit of a doubt that if the Catholic leaders had but half the ardour for promoting the glory of God and the salvation of souls, which they have for advancing their own temporal honours and emoluments, the two first of these grievances would speedily be redressed, and material relief obtained for that which is last mentioned*. Another observation, of great importance to the internal peace of the Catholic body, and to the credit and honour of its Nobility and Gentry, deserves here to be recorded: which is that, while the latter stand forward as the representatives and agents of the body in general, they should faithfully and zealously do their business as well as their own.

* See Mr. Abbot's (now Lord Colchester) speech, as reported by Mr. Butler, p. 257.

Hence, if they cannot obtain for themselves seats in Parliament, and other very high and lucrative places, to which a very trifling number of Catholics can aspire, they ought not to authorize their Parliamentary agents, as was done in 1813, to reject the elective franchise, and the numerous other boons to which thousands of their brethren in the middling and lower ranks of life would rise, if the prohibitory oaths and declarations were dispensed with in their regard, as they certainly would be if the political leaders would remain satisfied with this, till times become more favourable for their immediate objects. It is certain and notorious, that the conduct alluded to in the above-mentioned year, has left a wound that rankles in the bosom of many a respectable Catholic merchant and farmer, and that nothing is wanting but a man of commanding abilities to snatch the helm of our affairs from the hands that at present guide it, and to gain a Bill for the relief of the whole body, to the disgrace of those personages who have an hereditary claim to its veneration.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Supplementary Memoir writer having followed the author of the Historical Memoirs to the end of his account of the English Catholics, declines taking notice of the few anecdotes which the latter has extracted from Monsieur Picot's last Memoirs relative to the Scotch Catholics, and from Father Peter Walsh's and Dr. Columbanus O'Conor's publications relative to those of Ireland. Much less will the writer contest the learned Barrister's opinions of the Catholic Theologians, Historians, Poets, and Musicians of England, during the three last centuries. His praises of them are profuse and equally distributed to the good, the bad, and the indifferent; which circumstance renders them not merely insipid, but absolutely distasteful in particular to sound Catholic Theologians, who cannot help feeling themselves uneasy in such company, as, for example, that of Mr. Eustace and Dr. Geddes.

The writer has made use, in the present work, of various letters and documents, which, without any breach of confidence, have come fairly into his possession; the greater part of which he found arranged and labelled, *in futuram rerum memoriam*. He has, however, been

careful to suppress the names of the writers of them, and of the persons mentioned in them, as likewise of all circumstances which might lead to a knowledge of them, as far as this has been practicable. To shew, however, the uncertainty there is whether even the generality of the old Committee-men approved of, or were acquainted with the papers to which their names are affixed, it may be sufficient to state the following fact: Among the old letters in the writer's possession is one from a leader of the Committee to an episcopal member of it, who appears to have been extremely averse to a continuation of the *Blue Books*. The letter is dated London, April 10, 1792, and contains the following passage: "We certainly are printing a third Blue Book. "As it is necessary it should be printed soon, "and *as it is our custom not to send letters to be* "*signed by absent members of the Committee*, "probably it will not be sent to you." If even a Bishop's name could be signed by Mr. B. and his lay confidents to theological writings, such as the Blue Books are in some respects, without his consent or knowledge, who will charge any particular Noblemen or Gentlemen with the errors contained in them, merely because he sees their names printed at the end of them?

ERRATA.

Page	Line	
17	——	antepenult. *dele* indeed.
44	——	ult. *for* Dords *read* Doran.
81	——	25 *for* fifty-three *read* fifty-five.
83	——	9 and 18 *for* Elephant *read* Royal.
154	——	18 *after* to *add* hold.
194	——	3 *for* fortune, *read* for time.
206	——	22 *after* paper *add* now.
211	——	27 *dele* profess to.
217	——	20 *read* unanswerable but hitherto unpublished.
220	——	4 *for* unitation *read* limitation.
231	——	14 *after* abovenamed *add* and.
255	——	2 *for* forty *read* thirty.

APPENDIX

TO

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMOIRS,

&c. &c.

APPENDIX A.

Copy of a Letter from the Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District to a General Vicar of the same District.

Dear and Rev. Sir,

THERE are rights which we may laudably surrender for the sake of peace and charity; for thus our Saviour admonishes us: *If any man will go to law with thee to take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.* Matt. v. 40. But there are other rights, which no pretexts whatever can justify us in relinquishing: such is that of us, divinely commissioned Pastors of the Church, to teach her doctrine on all occasions, but particularly when this is contested by any of the laity. An instance of such contest exists now, and has existed for a few years past, between your friend the Vicar Apostolic of this Midland District, and the celebrated Catholic lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, respecting the accuracy and orthodoxy of the profession of faith, sometimes entitled,

Roman Catholic Principles in reference to God and the King, or, *God and the Country;* at other times entitled, *The Faith of Catholics.* The former, in an official "charge to his clergy," dated April 30th, 1813, has pronounced that this treatise "is not an accurate exposition of Roman Catholic principles, and still less the Faith of Catholics:"* the latter, in three several works, of splendid form, and alluding to the episcopal charge, has proclaimed that the treatise is "a just and fair exposition of the principles of the Catholics," and "a clear and accurate exposition of the Roman Catholic Creed."† The question now is, whether the Bishop or the Barrister shall give way in a contest respecting a profession of Catholic faith. The Prelate, it is true, is not infallible, and therefore may be corrected by a superior ecclesiastical tribunal; but were he to submit to the lay authority of the Lawyer, he would not only betray his own professional character, but also the divine jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, if the latter persists in dogmatizing, he will not only belie his general protestations, contained in his *Blue Books*, of being among "the most docile members of Christ's Church,"‡ but also his particular profession made to this Vicar Apostolic, on a memorable occasion, of *belonging to his midland flock, in consequence of his estate being situated in Lincolnshire.*

* Pastoral Charge, Part II. p. 8.

† Third Essay subsequent to *Confessions of Faith*, 2d edit. pp. 219, 225. *Historical Memoirs of the English, &c. Catholics*, 1st and 2d edit. vol. I.—N. B. Among the *Confessions of Faith*, or *Creeds*, which the author publishes, is one of his own composition, consisting of eleven articles, for the common use of Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Socinians, and Unitarians, p. 274.

‡ Second Blue Book, p. 5.

The first known appearance of this new creed was in an anonymous book, now before me, called *Stafford's Memoires*, which was published in 1680, but without the name or sanction of any Bishop, or other ecclesiastical person, qualified by his station or his theological learning to judge of it. This single defect, by the decrees of the councils of Trent and the last Lateran,* suffices to deprive it of all authority, and to place it in the rank of doubtful or suspected publications. The next appearance of it, that I am acquainted with, is in a detached pamphlet, printed in 1805, but still without the name of any author or approver. Mr. Butler pretends,† that a dozen other editions of it were published about the latter date, and as many as six of them by Mr. Gother; but he asserts all this without either authority or probability: for if the work had been at all popular among the Catholics, how could it happen that our indefatigable and intelligent historian Dodd should have been unacquainted with it? and that not one of the Protestant host of controversialists of that period, who attacked every catholic work of celebrity, should have taken no notice of it? Again: if Gother had been so partial to this work, as to have given six editions of it in two years, is it to be believed that neither his above mentioned biographer, nor the contemporary editor of his works,‡ should have discovered the pretended relation between them?

The resuscitation of this obscure pamphlet is owing to the Rev. Joseph Berington, who published it in his *Reflections addressed to the Rev. John Hawkins in* 1785, with this account of it: "The following short *Exposition of Catholic Principles* I have had by me for some years.

* Trid. Sess. IV. Regula VI. Lib. Prohib. Lateran Sess. X.

† Confess. &c. p. 220. 1 Memoirs, p. 391.

‡ Gother's Spiritual Works, Vol. I.

I took it from an old collection of controversial tracts, and I presume there may be other copies of it. Who the author of it was, I know not, nor when it was published; but I fancy about the middle of the reign of Charles II. Its conciseness and precision of expression are admirable. In few words it says all we wish to say, because *it contains all we profess to believe.* They to whom it has been read, admired it as much as I do, and they wished it might be given to the public."* The person here alluded to was probably that leading member of the Committee, and intimate friend of Mr. Butler as well as of Mr. Berington, who, upon the publication of the *Reflections*, containing the *Exposition of Roman Catholic Principles*, plied each of the Vicars Apostolic to approve and sign the latter. This Mr. Butler affirms to have been done by Bishop James Talbot of the London District;† whereas I have an original letter of his to his brother Bishop Thomas Talbot, of the Midland District, now before me, which, after stating some alterations respecting the manner of keeping Lent made in the preceding year, proceeds thus: "The same may also happen this year, but I can't think it will, unless I was disposed to follow implicitly the directions of our Committee in that matter, more than *in subscribing a doctrinal test chosen by them.* If such a test is necessary at this time, they should have told us why, and asked the thing of us, instead of choosing for us. Hence, *I have declined subscribing theirs*, and sent them one, which I think better and more likely to be accepted, as coming through the proper channel, viz. my predecessor, (Bishop Challoner) who published it about the time of the Act in our favour. As to the other *(Roman Catholic Principles)* the late publisher *(Mr. J. Berington)* has much altered it, &c.—Hammersmith, Feb. 4th,

* Reflect. p. 105. † Confess. p. 222. Mem. p. 392.

1786." That Bishop Thomas Talbot followed the example of his brother James in *declining to subscribe the test*, proposed by the Committee-man, namely, Mr. Berington's *Exposition of Roman Catholic Principles*, will be easily conceived from the letters of two other Vicars Apostolic, whom he had consulted, no less than his brother James. One of these is from the learned Bishop Matthew Gibson, dated Stella Hall, Jan. 29th, 1786, in which, among other things to the same purpose, he says: "The *Exposition* is, in its present form, and even with the alterations mentioned by Mr. N." *the Committee-man in question*, "in some places objectionable." Bishop Hay, the other Prelate consulted by Bishop Thomas Talbot concerning the *Exposition*, writes thus: "Though you do not ask my opinion of the *Reflections*, I cannot help expressing my particular disapprobation of some of them. He," the author, "appears in some things to advance very dangerous propositions, and not at all becoming a Catholic clergyman.* The *Exposition of Catholic Principles* appears very just in general, but there are two passages in

* The following are some of the passages in the *Reflections* alluded to by Bishop Hay: "What liberty of discussion, or, if you will, of *doubting*, does any Christian possess that we have not?" p. 31. "Many things, I confess, in the Catholic belief weigh rather heavy on my mind, and I should be glad to have a freer field to range in. Can you wish for a reader with better dispositions than these?" p. 56. "The representative body are our Prelates, the represented are the people, and at the head of this constitution is the Pope. But to him belongs no absolute or despotic jurisdiction.—He has indeed his prerogatives; but we have our privileges, and are *independant on him, excepting where it has pleased the community*, for the sake of unity and good order, *to surrender into his hands a limited superintendance.*" P. 69.—N. B. This proposition, in the Synod of Ormond-street, A. D. 1792, was censured as *heretical*. "It

them, which I cannot say so much for. I therefore must decline signing them.—Aberdeen, April 8th, 1786."*

Notwithstanding the pointed disapprobation of the Committee's test on the part of the Bishops, those gentlemen, or, rather, their secretary, Mr. C. Butler, in their names, sent a copy of it to Mr. Pitt, and distributed two hundred other copies of it among members of the establishment and dissenters, rashly asserting that, in their opinion, "every Catholic would readily subscribe it."† I am witness how much this unauthorized act, when it came to the knowledge of the Bishops, by the publication of the *Second Blue Book*, in 1791, offended them, and how decidedly they continued to disapprove of the *Exposition* itself.

is very generally agreed that the alteration of the Latin language, in the public service of our Church, would be *a most salutary amendment*. But it has not been done, because it was asked in too insolent a manner; because we are daily irritated by petulant reflections, and because we are not disposed to pray in the language of a Luther, a Calvin, or a Queen Elizabeth." P. 74.—Such is the work which Mr. Butler commends, "for bringing to public notice the Creed, called *Roman Catholic Principles*." Hist. Mem. Confessions of Faith, p. 222.

* Mr. Butler asserts in his *Memoirs*, p. 391, and his *Confessions*, p. 221, that Bishop Hornyold gave "a partial edition of the *Principles*," merely because, in his *Catechism for the Adult*, he denies three or four vulgar charges against Catholics, in terms partly resembling the corresponding articles in the former work! He even signifies that Bishop Walmesley was an approver of this his friend's and his own favourite creed! Not only the present writer, but the whole Catholic public is witness, that, among all the opposers of the writings and the conduct of them both, Bishop Walmesley was, at all times, the most strenuous.

† Second Blue Book, p. 14.

To complete the history of this unaccredited creed: about eight years ago I understood there was an intention of republishing it in a more extended form, and of illustrating it with authorities from the holy fathers, collected by a learned clergyman of this district. You, dear Sir, will recollect what I repeatedly and publicly said on the occasion, namely, "Let that gentleman employ his learning and his talents in illustrating the doctrine of the Church; but let him choose a sound text to work upon, such as *The Creed of Pope Pius* IV, or *Bossuet's Exposition;* at all events, let him not be concerned in republishing that faulty profession, called *Roman Catholic Principles,* which I must ever reject and oppose as former Prelates have done." My admonitions, however, were disregarded, and the work was published at Birmingham, in the centre of our district, in a thick volume of above five hundred pages, under the new title of *The Faith of Catholics.* Some time after this, it was again published at Birmingham by the clergyman alluded to, in its more contracted form, and under its original title of *Roman Catholic Principles.* The latter edition is accompanied with notes, which point out some of the numerous variations in point of *doctrine,* no less than of language, which are manifest in the different editions of this pretended *Faith of Catholics.* St. Hilary reproached the Arians that *they made new creeds every year and every month, whereas Catholics have always the same creed:* which observation suffices alone to make us reject this ever-varying *Exposition,* which is the subject of Mr. Butler's commendations. For the present, he prefers the edition of 1815 to the other modern editions, and even to the original text of the 17th century, which he supposes to be that of Abbot Corker and Mr. Gother, but without intimating the slightest motive for this inconsistent preference.

The title of the edition which Mr. Butler chooses to adopt is, ROMAN CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES IN REFERENCE TO GOD AND THE KING: yet what Catholic could believe it, without seeing the new creed, that in treating of God and of Christ, there is no declaration, nor so much as an intimation, respecting the *Trinity* of the former, or the *Divinity* of the latter! Whenever a profession of faith appears without an explicit declaration of belief in these two all-necessary articles, it is, of course, considered as a symbol of Unitarians or Socinians: at all events, without this declaration, it most certainly is neither "*Roman Catholic Principles in reference to God*," nor "*the Faith of Catholics.*" Not content, however, with leaving these and other articles of the Apostles' creed out of this his new creed, Mr. Berington expressly declares of it, in the above mentioned book, commended by Mr. Butler: "In a few words it says all we wish to say, because *it contains all we profess to believe.*"*

Well, my dear Sir, as Mr. C. Butler, of the Midland District, is pleased to play the theologian, and to contradict the official declarations of his Bishop, I shall expect that, on the sight of this letter, which I shall take an early opportunity of publishing, he will answer the following positive objections against his *Clear and accurate Exposition of the Roman Catholic Creed*, as he proclaims it to be, in opposition to that Bishop's censure, and likewise that he should lay before me and the public, his motives for adopting Mr. Berington and Mr. Kirk's numerous alterations of this creed, in preference to the original text of the alledged Father Corker and Mr. Gother. Mr. Butler will see, that I do not, in this instance, "crush him with the mill-stone of authority," as his friend Dr. Geddes complained of

* Reflect. p. 105.

another Prelate, but that I give him an opportunity of defending himself with equal weapons.

The second Proposition in the first section is this: "The merits of Christ, *though infinite in themselves**, are not applied to us otherwise than by a right faith in him." — This position, however orthodox may have been the meaning of its Author and its Editors, is very far from being "a clear and accurate exposition of the Catholic Creed" in itself: for, 1st, The merits of Christ are efficaciously applied to the souls of infants in the sacrament of baptism, (and the same may be said of confirmation, as likewise of penance, and extreme unction, in certain cases, with respect to the adult) though they are incapable of forming an act of right faith in him †. The position, as it stands, evidently insinuates the error of the Anabaptists. 2dly, *Gratia præveniens* is not applied to our souls *by means of a right faith*, because *it precedes faith*, and all other good dispositions, as the Church teaches against the Semipelagians ‡. 3dly, With respect to *gratia justificans*, it is far from being accurate, to say that this *is not applied to us* OTHERWISE *than by a right faith*, since the Church teaches, in opposition to Methodists and other enthusiasts, that *hope* and *incipient charity* concur to its effect, no less than faith §. Sensible of the erroneousness of this position, the Irish editor has changed it in the following manner: "The merits of Christ are applied to us chiefly by the sacraments, &c."

* These words in italics are an addition of Mr. Berington, no way necessary to the sense of the proposition.

† "Si quis dixerit parvulos, eo quod actum credendi non habent, suscepto baptismo, inter fideles computandos non esse, anathema sit." Trid. Sess. VII. can. 13.

‡ Trid. Sess. VI. cap. 5.

§ Ibid. cap. 6.

Among the twelve articles which constitute the first section or paragraph of this creed, there are few which have not been altered from the original text by Mr. Berington and Mr. Butler, sometimes in the same way, and sometimes in different ways: however, as my present business is with the latter gentleman, I wish to ask him, in particular, the two following questions:—The original text of Article VIII. says, "The qualifications of unity, indeficiency, visibility, succession, and universality, are *applicable to* NO OTHER *church or assembly* but the Roman Catholic Church." This, learned Sir, you change in your three editions of it thus: "The qualities unity, indeficiency, &c. being evidently *applicable to the Roman Catholic Church*, &c." Now, Sir, does not this studied diminution of the sentence insinuate, that though the Catholic Church has the marks of truth, yet that *other communions have them likewise?* Again, the original text of Article X. says: "All and only divine revelations, delivered by God unto the Church, and proposed by her to be believed as such, are and ought to be esteemed articles of faith; and *the contrary opinions heresy.*" Among your other changes of this article, is the entire suppression of the last clause: what else can we conclude from this, except that your boasted *profession of faith* is, in your opinion, *false*, and that *to believe contrary to divine revelation, proposed by the Church, as such, is not heresy.*

The second paragraph or section in the original, begins thus: "*General Councils*, which are the Church of God representative, have no commission from Christ to frame new matters of faith." This text, following your usual guide, Mr. Berington, you thus alter: "*The pastors of the Church*, who are *the body representative*, either dispersed or convened in council, have received no commission from Christ to frame new arti-

cles of faith."—True it is, that Catholic Bishops, canonically assembled in general councils, *represent their absent brethren;* but in Mr. Berington's system, as expressed in his *Reflections*, where this alteration was first made, it is erroneous, and *an insinuation of heresy.* We have seen, that in his system, " The representative body are our Prelates; the represented are the people ; and at the head of this Constitution is the Pope, into whose hands *it has pleased the community to surrender a limited superintendance**. In short, this plan, which subverts the *divine authority* of the apostles and their successors with respect to their flocks, and even the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors with respect to the whole church, and which derives all ecclesiastical jurisdiction from a delegation of the Christian community, in *the heresy* of Richer, and of the Synod of Pistoija, and stands condemned by the Church under that qualification †.

The next Proposition, which, however, stands in the original, as well as in Mr. Butler's edition, affirms, that " It is no article of faith, that the church cannot err in matters of fact or discipline, alterable by circumstances of time and place." If this proposition, *thus generally laid down*, be true, then may it be affirmed, that the apostolic council erred, in forbidding the Gentile converts *to eat blood*, and the fifth general council, in condemning *the Three Chapters*, and the council of Florence in defining that *the Pope is the successor of St. Peter*, and the church of our days in declaring, not on-

* *Reflections addressed to J. Hawkins*, p. 69.

† " Propositio quæ statuit: *Potestatem à Deo datam Ecclesiæ ut communicaretur Pastoribus, qui sunt ejus ministri;* sic intellecta ut à communitate fidelium in Pastores derivetur ecclesiastici ministerii ac regiminis potestas—HÆRETICA." Damnat. Synod. Pistoj. Prop. II.

ly that *Jansenism is a heresy*, but also that *this heresy is contained in the book of Jansenius*. If Mr. Butler had studied divinity in a regular manner, and not by way of relaxation from his study of the Law, as he signifies in so many of his works *, he would have learnt the difference between *mere positive facts* and *dogmatical facts*.

The fourth article of this second section declares, that the king's subjects may renounce UPON OATH the doctrine of *deposing kings*, *excommunicated for heresy*, (which so many saints and holy doctors have taught) as IMPIOUS and DAMNABLE, in the very same breath in which he declares his *disapprobation* of the term *damnable*, thus applied, and states, that the term, on account of its impropriety, is omitted by the Irish editor. But to pass over this inconsistency, as well as impiety, why does he, as well as Mr. Berington, suppress and take no notice of that important passage in the original text, which declares, that *the deposing doctrine* "is not properly *heretical*, taking the word *heretical* in that connatural genuine sense it is usually understood in the Catholic Church; on account of which, and *other expressions nowise appertaining to loyalty*, it is, that Catholics of tender consciences *refuse the oath* commonly called the *Oath of Allegiance*:" why, I repeat it, does Mr. Butler suppress and keep out of the sight of Catholics this most important part of his boasted "*Clear and accurate Exposition of the Roman Catholic Creed?*"—The reason is obvious, to persons acquainted with his writings and transactions: the insertion of this single passage would have refuted a large proportion of his *Historical Memoirs*, and have condemned his conduct, in labouring, during two whole years of

* See the usual motto of Mr. B.'s theological publications, borrowed from Cicero pro Archia.

his life, to force the Catholics, contrary to the instructions of their Bishops, to swear that the *deposing doctrine is heretical*, in the terms of King James's oath of allegiance.

In like manner, I may demand of Mr. Butler, why, writing of the Pope, in the fifth article, he suppresses the important words of the original, which pronounce him to be "*Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth?*" Does not this suppression argue, that our juridical divine does not admit of the justness of this title? And yet it is attributed to the Pope by the council of Trent*.

In the third paragraph, or section, Mr. Butler, preferring the modern theology of Mr. Berington to the ancient theology of the alledged Mr. Corker and Mr. Gother, flies off from the original text of his boasted "accurate Exposition of the R. Catholic Creed," in a great number of omissions, additions, and alterations, which my present limits will not allow me to discuss, or even to enumerate: I shall therefore satisfy myself with pointing out one error which occurs in the original of this section, as well as in the copies of it. It is this: "Indulgences are *nothing else than a mitigation or relaxation*, upon just causes, of *canonical penances*, enjoined by the Pastors of the Church on penitent sinners."—If this were sound doctrine, a General Council would have erred in declaring Indulgences to be "*heavenly treasures* †," and that "*the use of them is highly beneficial to Christian people* ‡." So far from this doctrine of the council being true, *Indulgences*, according to this system of the principles, would be *a mere carnal pampering*, and would be *detrimental to*

* Trid. Sess. VI. De Ref. c. 1.
† Ibid. Sess. XXI. cap. 9.
‡ Ibid. Sess. XXV. De Indulg.

Christian people, in withdrawing them from works of penance. But there is no occasion for any argument on this point, since his late Holiness Pius VI. in a dogmatical decree, received by the whole Church, has condemned the above-stated doctrine, as *false, rash, injurious to the merits of Christ, and long since condemned in Luther* *.

The tract professes to exhibit the *civil* as well as the *religious* principles of Roman Catholics. Of the former I have no pretensions to pronounce a judgment; still I am at liberty to observe of them, that they appear to be as unsettled as the latter. In the reign of the Stuarts, when they were first published, they were of the *Tory* cast. Accordingly, they were then entitled, "Roman Catholic Principles in reference to God and *the King*:" but being brought to light by Mr. Berington in 1785, they were republished by him, under the whiggish title of "Roman Catholic Principles in reference to God and *the Country*:" under which title the treatise was sent by Mr. Butler, in 1788, to Mr. Pitt and other leading Protestants, as he himself avows †. He now, I know not why, brings it back to its old title. Conformably to the *Tory* principles of *divine right* and *non-resistance* in every case whatever, the original of the 17th century declares, that "Kings, magistrates, and superiors on earth, are *Vicegerents of God*." The latter clause Messrs. Berington and

* "Propositio asserens *Indulgentiam, secundum suam præcisam notionem, aliud non esse, quam remissionem partis ejus pœnitentiæ, quæ per canones statuta erat peccanti*: — Quasi Indulgentia, præter nudam remissionem pœnæ canonicæ, non etiam valeat ad remissionem pœnæ temporalis pro peccatis actualibus, debitæ apud divinam justitiam :—*Falsa, temeraria, Christi meritis Injuriosa, dudum in Art.* 9. *Lutheri Damnata.*" Condemn. Synod. Pistoj. Prop. 40.

† Second Blue Book, p. 13.

Butler, on *whiggish principles*, expunge from their civil creed. On the same principles, where the original declares absolutely, that "Catholic subjects are bound to defend their king and country *at the hazard of their lives and fortunes*," these modern editors qualify the declaration with the following clause: "*As far as Protestants would be bound.*"

But to confine myself within my own province: I hereby declare, in a more explicit manner than I heretofore did, in my *Pastoral Charge*, that the altered treatise, which the Rev. Joseph Berington republished 35 years ago in his *Reflections addressed to the Rev. J. Hawkins*, under the title of *Roman Catholic Principles in reference to God and the Country*, and, with the help of another Reverend Gentleman, seven years ago, under the title of *The Faith of Catholics*, and which Charles Butler, Esq. Barrister at Law, has since republished in three different works, under the title of, *Roman Catholic Principles in reference to God and the King;* at the same time proclaiming, that "*it is a clear and accurate exposition of the Roman Catholic Creed**," and "*a just and fair exposition of the principles of the Roman Catholics* †:" I declare, I say, under correction of the Catholic Church and the Holy See, that the said *treatise is not worthy of the above-mentioned titles and commendations;* but that it is *inaccurate and censurable in many respects.* This declaration you will be pleased to make known to our clergy as opportunities may serve, at the same time informing them, that if these pretended *Roman Catholic Principles*, printed on a large sheet, are fixed up in any of their chapels, (as I have witnessed them so affixed in some of them) I require they should forthwith be

* Sequel to Confessions of Faith, p. 219.

† Appendix to *Histor. Mem.* vol. i. p. 393.

removed; moreover, that it is my earnest desire, that such persons of the clergy as may be possessed of or have controul over any copy or copies of the above-mentioned works, would insert a note or memorandum in them, containing the present official judgment and sentence.

I am, dear Rev. Sir,
Your friend and servant in Jesus Christ,
✠ J. Milner, Bp. of Castab.
V. A. M. D.

Wolverhampton, Oct. 14, 1819.

APPENDIX B.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER.

Charles, *Bishop of Rama, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District;* William, *Bishop of Acanthos, Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District; and* John, *Bishop of Centuria, Vicar Apostolic of the Southern District;*

To all the Faithful, Clergy and Laity, of those respective Districts.

WE think it necessary to lay before you the following Articles and Determinations.

1st, We are informed that the Catholic Committee has given in, or intends to give in, a Bill, containing an Oath, to be presented to Parliament, in order to be sanctioned by the legislature, and the oath to be tendered to the Catholics of this kingdom.

2dly, The four Apostolic Vicars, by an Encyclical Letter, dated October 21, 1789, condemned an Oath

proposed at that time to be presented to Parliament, and which Oath they also declared unlawful to be taken. Their condemnation of that oath was confirmed by the Apostolic See, and sanctioned also by the Bishops of Ireland and Scotland.

3dly, Some alteration has been made by the Catholic Committee in that condemned oath; but, as far as we have learned, of no moment; consequently the altered oath remains liable to the censure fixed on the former oath.

4thly, The four Apostolical Vicars, in the above mentioned Encyclical Letter, declared, that *None of the faithful, clergy or laity, ought to take any new Oath, or sign any new Declaration, in doctrinal matters, or subscribe any new instrument, wherein the interests of Religion are concerned, without the previous approbation of their respective Bishop, and they required submission to those determinations.* The altered oath has not been approved by us, and therefore cannot be lawfully or conscientiously taken by any of the faithful of our districts.

5thly, We further declare, that the assembly of the Catholic Committee has no right or authority to determine on the lawfulness of Oaths, Declarations, or other instruments whatsoever containing doctrinal matters; but that this authority resides in the Bishops, they being, by divine institution, the Spiritual Governors in the Church of Christ, and the Guardians of Religion.

In consequence likewise of the preceding observations, we condemn, in the fullest manner, the attempt of offering to Parliament an oath, including doctrinal matters, to be there sanctioned, which has not been approved by us: and if such attempt be made, we earnestly exhort the Catholics of our respective districts to oppose it, and hinder its being carried into execu-

tion; and for that purpose to present a Protestation or counter-petition, or to adopt whatever other legal and prudent measure may be judged best.

Finally, We also declare, that conformably to the letter written to the Catholic Committee by the four Apostolical Vicars, October 21, 1789, we totally disapprove of the appellation of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*, given us in the Bill, and of three provisoes therein contained, and expressed in the said letter of the four Apostolical Vicars.

We shall here conclude with expressing to you our hopes, that you have rejected with detestation some late publications, and that you will beware of others which may appear hereafter. Of those that have been published, some are schismatical, scandalous, inflammatory, and insulting to the supreme Head of the Church, the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

✠ Charles Ramaten, V. A.
✠ William Acanthen, V. A.
✠ John Centurien, V. A.

London, Jan. 19, 1791.

APPENDIX C.

PROTEST of the COMMITTEE against the ENCYCLICAL LETTERS of the V.V. A. *extracted from the SECOND BLUE BOOK, p.* 30.

"Therefore, my Lord Bishop of Rama, V. A. of the Western District; my Lord Bishop of Acanthos, V. A. of the Northern District; my Lord Bishop of Centuria, V. A. of the Southern District;—your Lordships having brought matters to this point:—con-

vinced that we have not been misled by our clergy; convinced that we have not departed from the principles of our ancestors; convinced that we have not violated any article of Catholic faith or communion:—We the Catholic Committee, whose names are here underwritten, for ourselves, and for those in whose trusts we have acted, do hereby, before GOD, solemnly protest, and call upon GOD to witness our protest against your Lordships' Encyclical Letters of the 19th day of October, 1789, and the 21st day of January last, and every clause, article, determination, matter, and thing therein respectively contained: as imprudent, arbitrary, and unjust; as a total misrepresentation of the nature of the Bills to which they respectively refer, and the Oaths therein respectively contained; and our conduct relating thereto respectively; as encroaching on our natural, civil, and religious rights; inculcating principles hostile to society and government, and the constitution and laws of the British empire; as derogatory from the allegiance we owe to the state and the settlement of the crown; and as tending to continue, increase, and confirm the prejudices against the faith and moral character of the Catholics, and the scandal and oppression under which they labour in this kingdom.—In the same manner we do hereby solemnly protest, and call upon GOD to witness this our solemn Protest against all proceedings had, or hereafter to be had, in consequence of or grounded upon your Lordships' Encyclical Letters, or either of them, or any representations of the Bills or Oaths therein respectively referred to, given or to be given by your Lordships, or any of you.—And from your Lordships' said Encyclical Letters, and all proceedings had, or hereafter to be had, in consequence of, or grounded upon the same, or either of them; or in consequence of, or grounded upon any representa-

tion of the said Bills or Oaths or either of them, given or to be given by your Lordships, or any of you; we do hereby appeal, and call on GOD to witness our appeal, for the purity and integrity of our religious principles, to all the Catholic Churches in the universe, and especially to the first of Catholic Churches, the Apostolical See, rightly informed."

Signed by two ecclesiastical and eight lay Members of the Committee.

APPENDIX D.

FACTS

Relating to the present Contests among the ROMAN CATHOLICS *of this Kingdom concerning the Bill to be introduced into Parliament for their Relief.*

IT is now more than a year and a half since an Abstract of the said Bill containing the Copy of an Oath to be taken by those Roman Catholics, who desire to receive benefit from the intended Act, was first circulated amongst persons of that communion, and ever since that time it has been the subject of warm debates both by word of mouth and by writing amongst them. The Gentlemen of what is called the Roman Catholic Committee, by whom the said Abstract and Copy of an Oath were first sent abroad, have uniformly maintained, that it is in every part strictly conformable to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. On the other hand the four Prelates who are at the head of the Ec-

clesiastics of that persuasion in this kingdom, namely, Mr. Charles Walmesley, the honourable James Talbot, the honourable Thomas Talbot, and Mr. Matthew Gibson, by a common printed letter bearing date the 19th October, 1789, condemned that form of Oath as unlawful to be taken by Roman Catholics: and two of those Gentlemen being since dead, viz. the honourable James Talbot and Mr. Matthew Gibson, their successors, who are Mr. John Douglass and Mr. William Gibson, in conjunction with the aforesaid Mr. Charles Walmesley, did, by a common printed letter dated Jan. 19, 1791, concur in the same censure; in which decisions the far greater part of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom have acquiesced. It may be added, that the three Roman Catholic Bishops in Scotland, and the twenty-six in Ireland, together with the Lay-Gentlemen of the Irish Committee, have concurred in the propriety of the above mentioned decision. It is true, one slight alteration has been adopted in the Oath since it was first censured, but that is precisely the change which the Committee prove in the under mentioned work, p. 5, to be a change in words but not in meaning.

At the present time, when the Legislature has thought proper to inquire into the situation and doctrines of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in England, it is conceived to be a duty owing to the Legislature itself, as well as to a great majority of that body, to state

THE LEADING QUESTIONS IN DEBATE CONCERNING THE PROPOSED OATH between the Gentlemen of what is called the Roman Catholic Committee on one hand, and of the majority of the Roman Catholics who adhere to the decision of their Bishops on the other, together with a summary account of the arguments on which they have grounded their respective opinions. ——The arguments of the Committee are precisely those which

they themselves have published to the world in a common printed letter, dated London, 25th Nov. 1789,* which was circulated by them amongst the Roman Catholics in every part of the kingdom. It is signed by two ecclesiastical and five lay members of the Committee.

1. The first question in debate is concerning the adoption of the new assumed title of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*, instead of the name which persons of that Communion have always assumed of *Catholics* or of *Roman Catholics*.

In favour of the change, the Committee who have adopted it alledge in the aforesaid common letter, p. 2, first, as to its propriety, that it is strictly proper for Roman Catholics to call themselves *Protesting Dissenters*, because in fact they do protest against certain pernicious doctrines attributed to them, and because they dissent in certain points from the established church. Secondly, p. 4, with regard to the "*Probable efficacy* of this plan adopted by the Committee," that it is calculated "for conciliating the minds of the public." "The operation of the Bill," they say, p. 4, "is to leave those ideal numbers of Catholics who persist to hold the tenets in question (mere non-entities, we hope) to continue victims to the laws enacted against all Communicants with the See of Rome indiscriminately, and to the animosities that gave rise to them; but at the same time to make an opening through which such Communicants with that See, as protest against the doctrines in question (that is, we hope, the whole body of English Catholics) may slip from under the operation of the laws in question unheeded and unobserved."

In opposition to this language the majority of the Roman Catholics plead, that they have always hitherto

* The first *Blue Book*, so called.

taught, in their theological books, that it was of essential consequence not to abandon their old hereditary name, and that therefore if they defend it upon principle, they will not give it up for conveniency.—They add, that the disguise of dropping their own name in order to conceal their essential connection with the See of Rome in spiritual matters, does not appear to them consistent with that plain dealing which ought to characterize their transactions with the Legislature; and that the disguise of assuming the distinctive name, recognized by the laws as descriptive of those who protest against the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, is not grounded in good policy, in as much as it may raise an alarm in the nation on the most delicate of all subjects.

2. The next question in debate is concerning the theological qualification of *heretical*, not as applied to the king-killing, but merely to the deposing doctrine, which latter however *false*, *pernicious*, *seditious*, and *traiterous*, does not fall within the definition of heresy as received in the Roman Catholic Church.

On this head the Gentlemen of the Committee acknowledge, p. 7, that the epithet in question, as here applied, "is the last that would have occurred to them:" nevertheless they maintain, that it may be sworn to with a safe conscience by a Roman Catholic, because though the deposing doctrine is not *formal*, it is at least *material* heresy, p. 7.

In answer to this the majority of the Roman Catholics urge, that the distinction here brought has no real foundation in the nature of things, being a mere quibble of the schools, (an *ens materiale* being according to the logicians who adopt this distinction, such a kind of existence as a watch possesses in a piece of rude metal, in as much as a watch may be made of it) and that therefore, as the doctrine in question, even in the opi-

nion of the Committee, is not proper heresy, they the Roman Catholics cannot reconcile it to their consciences to condemn it as such. They moreover conceive it to be an object of perfect indifferency to the Legislature, under what qualification they reject the above mentioned dangerous doctrine, provided it is satisfied that they do actually reject it. Hence they recommend as more satisfactory, as well as being more consistent with their doctrine, the form in which the contested clause is worded in the Oath of Allegiance prescribed to be taken by his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland.

3. The third question turns on the meaning of that passage in the Oath, in which it is denied that any Church, Prelate, &c. has any jurisdiction whatsoever that can even indirectly interfere with the laws, &c. of the kingdom; namely, whether or no the person who swears to this clause abjures the spiritual authority of his Church and Pastors, as merely confined to conscientious matters, there being several laws even against this modified admission of the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

The interpretation of this passage given by the Committee is as follows, p. 5: "It is not meant to deny by these words the spiritual authority of the Church to preach her faith, administer her sacraments, punish by spiritual censures, &c. all that is meant to be denied is the right to *legislate in temporal concerns, or to enforce spiritual legislation by a coercion of a temporal nature.*" They proceed, p. 6, "We beg leave to assure you, (the Catholics of England,) that we know for certain that the leading men of the nation understand that nothing contained in the Oath is meant as a denial of the Catholic belief of the Pope's spiritual supremacy." In the sequel these Gentlemen allow the Church and its Pastors, by their spiritual censures, &c. to interfere in points which the Roman Catholics main-

tain are totally out of their jurisdiction. "If any state," say they, p. 6, "were to exercise undue sovereignty over another, if the constitution of a state were essentially wicked, if the government of a state were to be tyrannical and unjust, are not these as much sins in the eye of God, as they are crimes in the eye of man? As such are they not subject to the Church, to her teaching, preaching, and censures?"

In return, the Roman Catholics profess their readiness at all times to swear, *that the Church has no right to legislate in temporal affairs, or to enforce spiritual legislation by a coercion of a temporal nature;* but they say that this does not appear to them to be that *obvious meaning of the words* in which they are called to swear. They are not satisfied with appeals to authority, and ask how it is possible to conceive that the laws of the Church which command and the laws of the state which forbid them the distinctive practice of their religion, do not *interfere* with each other. The principle on which this doctrine has been defended by the original proposer of it, namely, that spiritual and temporal authority never can interfere with each other, they conceive to be pernicious, as on that ground it could not be said that even the deposing doctrine interfered with the safety of the state. It is for the learned to determine which of the two parties argue the best. In the mean time, it is plain from the above citations, that the Roman Catholics claim no other exemption in favour of their consciences than the Catholic dissenters do, than other descriptions of dissenters do, and than persons of the establishment do in Roman Catholic countries, namely, to withhold their obedience precisely to those laws which are enacted against the exercise of their religion.

4. The fourth question is also concerning the meaning of a clause. It is agreed on both hands that there is no power on earth *that can dispense with or absolve*

a Christian from the obligation of any Oath in which the most trifling right or interest of another person is concerned, but still that certain promises, accompanied with an attestation of the Divinity, which are entirely between God and the conscience, such as would be that of saying a certain number of prayers each day, may in certain cases be dispensed with by the power which it is supposed Christ left to the Church. The question then is precisely, Whether a Roman Catholic holding this doctrine can with a safe conscience swear, in the words of the Oath, that *no ecclesiastical power whatsoever can at any time dispense with the obligation of—any Oath whatever?*

The Committee say, p. 7, "by the oaths and compacts here referred to, the Bill does not refer to vows or other promises made to God, and which do not affect the rights of third persons."

The Roman Catholics answer, that the words being general and comprehending all Oaths, whether civil or merely religious, they cannot see upon what ground the explanation of the Committee can be admitted. As to the insinuation here conveyed, which they have heard more fully stated on other occasions, that such religious oaths as have been mentioned are not proper *oaths*, but vows, they say it is a new doctrine, which appears to them to be invented to answer the present purpose; and that in conformity with the definition of divines, and that laid down in the standard book of the English language, an Oath is an affirmation, or negation, or promise, to which the Almighty is called to witness.

Such are the chief contested points in the present Oath, being the only ones which the Gentlemen of the Committee have noticed in the above mentioned circular Letter addressed to the Catholics of England. It remains for the Legislature to determine whether

there is any thing in the objections, as here stated and explained, of the major part of the Roman Catholics against the wording of the present Oath, that is detrimental to the state, or to society, or that renders them worthy, instead of participating in the favours which are expected by their dissenting brethren, of all the severity of the penal laws, which by the passing of the present Bill will receive a new edge in their regard, the sharpness of which they fear they should soon experience. They humbly conceive that the same Oath which is judged to be a sufficient test of the allegiance of his Majesty's numerous Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland might be esteemed a sufficient pledge of their loyalty, as that Oath has been recommended in a printed Memorial, signed by fifty-five Roman Catholic Clergymen in the county of Lancaster, as proper to be proposed to Government, and as they are confident that not an individual Catholic would object to the taking of it. In the mean time, whether the Legislature does or does not look down upon them with an eye of indulgence, they hope it will be remembered that they actually are, and that they are convinced they are equally bound to the Legislature by an indissoluble bond of allegiance, contained in the Oath they cheerfully took in the year 1778; by the tenor of which they conceive themselves to be obliged in conscience, as they are ready now to declare more explicitly by a fresh Oath, to support to the utmost of their power his Majesty's Government and the Constitution of their country, should all the Catholic powers in Europe, with the Pope himself at their head, invade this country for the express purpose of establishing the Roman Catholic religion, and to reveal every conspiracy of this nature that may come to their knowledge.

Abandoned as the majority of Roman Catholics are by those Gentlemen who professed to serve them, taken

by surprise as they now are on the present occasion, and inferior to those with whom they have to contend in every thing except their numbers and their loyalty, they still entertain a hope, that if there be any thing worthy the inquiry of the Legislature in the above statement, the inquiry will take place. In the mean time, the writer of this signs his name as a pledge of his readiness to answer, by whomsoever called upon, for every point he has here asserted, and particularly to prove, if required, that he speaks the sense of the Roman Catholic Clergy in general, and of many thousands of his Majesty's other loyal subjects, no less than his own.

JOHN MILNER.

Winchester, Feb. 24, 1791.

APPENDIX E.

Copy of Dr. Milner's Apology offered at the Meeting in Durham, Aug. 23, 1812.

BEING sincerely desirous of giving every kind of satisfaction to my brethren, consistently with truth and my principles, for the purpose of advancing, as far as is within my power, the work of peace and harmony among ourselves and the Catholics of both islands, (not meaning, however, to retract any fact or reasoning contained in my different publications and writings within the last three years, until it shall be disproved, which I think none of them all can be,) I hereby apologize to them, my said brethren, and to ——— in particular, for any mere expression, contained in those publications or writings, which they themselves shall

deem offensive to them, and for the term *College-Usher* in particular, which, however, as used by me, meant nothing else but an *inferior Professor*. And whereas ——— appears to be much hurt at the opinion which I expressed in print, that a certain letter, bearing his name, was composed by a certain Law-gentleman, and whereas he has, with peculiar energy, affirmed that the letter, in question, was wholly composed by himself, I here abandon my above mentioned supposition, and am willing to express thus much in my next publication, in case he should wish me to do so.—And whereas this my ——— brother and others ——— brethren have treated me, in my view of things, very disrespectfully by word of mouth, writing, and even through the press, —I hereby acquit them of all obligation of retracting these assertions or insinuations.

J. M.

Durham, Aug. 23, 1812.

P. S. I must add, that the formulary of pacification, offered by Dr. Moylan and myself to the present meeting, does not, in my opinion, contain any censure on their past conduct; but simply a plan of cooperating, for preventing the subjugation of our jurisdiction and discipline, on which too many politicians, Catholics as well as Protestants, are evidently intent, and for suppressing that fatal schism* which exists in the bosom of our little English flock. And, whereas, I deem it my bounden duty to persevere in opposing both these evils, to the utmost of my power, I am resolved to do this, as I have hitherto done, without invading the jurisdiction of any of my brethren, and with giving them as little offence as it shall be in my power to do. J. M.

* *Blanchardism, which had infected many English as well as French.*

APPENDIX F.

A BRIEF MEMORIAL on the CATHOLIC BILL.

THE Bill, with its attendant Clauses, concerning the Roman Catholics, now before Parliament, professes to "put an end to all religious jealousies between his Majesty's subjects;" whereas, if carried into execution, it will certainly cause more jealousy, animosity, and confusion among them, than any religious innovation has done since the Revolution: it will even certainly be attended with all the evils of religious persecution. It professes "to communicate to the Catholics the blessings of our free form of government;" whereas it is expressly calculated to exclude from the benefits of the Constitution, and to oppress, in their civil as well as religious capacity, a numerous description of them, who, from the services which they have rendered to their King and Country, and which they may justly be expected again to render to them in cases of emergency, might expect to be particularly protected and conciliated, the R. Catholic Bishops and Clergy.

1st, By the tenor of the present Bill, the last mentioned persons are left entirely to the judgment, discretion, and mercy of a few lay persons, chiefly of their own body, to decide (in a tribunal more secret and arbitrary in its forms, than the Star-Chamber or the Inquisition) upon their loyalty and peaceable conduct, without any fixed principles, and much less without those of the law, as to what constitutes loyalty and peaceable conduct, and without that legal redress or appeal from a decision that may deprive them of their

character, and eventually of their country, to which all British subjects are entitled.

2dly, By appointing certain lay persons, professing the Catholic Religion, to secure the loyalty of the Catholic Prelature and Clergy, (whereas it is the office, as it has been the practice of the latter, by their ministerial duty, to secure that of the former) and by admitting the Oath of a few lay Catholics as a sufficient security, and rejecting that of the whole Catholic Prelature and Clergy as insecure, these would be undeservedly degraded in their civil and social characters, before their own body and the public at large.

3dly, The Constitution of the Catholic Church is essentially Episcopal; whereas the tendency of the proposed clauses is to render it, in this kingdom, in a great degree, democratical, by making the Bishops and Clergy dependent on their laity, both as to their appointment and their ministry. Thus, for example, if the Clergy should not preach, or minister, or write according to the opinions or the sentiments of the Lay Commissioners, it is out of the order of things that they should be judged worthy by the latter of a testimonial of peaceable conduct.

4thly, To be a Catholic Commissioner it is sufficient, according to the clauses of the Bill, "to *profess* the Roman Catholic Religion:" now this may and has been done by many persons who have set its essential doctrines, discipline, and spiritual authority at open defiance. The tendency therefore of the clauses in question is to subvert the Religion, which the Bill professes to protect.

5thly, It would be an act of schism against the Catholic Religion, for any member of it, by word or act, to concur to that clause which declares, that "persons in Holy Orders, appointed, according to the usages of the R. Catholic Church, to exercise episcopal duties,

shall not be capable of exercising such duties—in whose favour a major part of the Commissioners shall have refused to certify their loyalty and peaceable conduct." Of course, no Catholic, and still more no Catholic Bishop, can, consistently with his religion, accept of or act under the Commission in question.

Notwithstanding all this, it is humbly presumed that no danger to the Establishment in Church or State can arise from the proposed admission of Catholic laymen to civil or military privileges, in consequence of their Bishops and Clergy continuing to elect other Bishops, (as they have hitherto done, without restraint or complaint from the Legislature, and conformably to the practice of the different classes of Dissenters) because they are all his Majesty's sworn and approved loyal subjects; because they are ready to swear that "they they will choose none but those whom they conscientiously believe to be such," (and it must be admitted that they know one anothers conduct and dispositions better than any layman, whether Catholic or Protestant, can know them,) and because it is evidently their interest and that of their religion, as well as it is their duty, to provide, to the best of their power, that their Prelates should not only be loyal and orderly, but also, as much as possible, acceptable to his Majesty's Government.

6thly, With respect to any communication between the Catholic Prelates and Clergy, and the Head Bishop and other Prelates of their religion, it is incompatible with their character and duty to subject this to the opinion of their laity; nevertheless, they are ready to swear that they "will not communicate, directly or indirectly, with the Pope, &c. or with any other person in foreign parts, on any matter or thing affecting the safety and peace of his Majesty's Government, or of the Establishment in Church and State, or on any other

political subject whatsoever,* and that in case they should receive any letter or other document, relating to the same, they will transmit it within days to one of his Majesty's Secretaries." They are also perfectly content that this Oath should be followed up, in the usual manner against felony or treason, by corresponding penalties, whether of transportation or of death, should they infringe this their Oath. This approved and constitutional remedy against illegal correspondence with foreigners, if accompanied with due powers to ministers, (the post-office being already in their hands,) and with the offer of an adequate premium to informers, would, it is humbly presumed, not only be a sufficient security against the alledged new dangers, but also a much more effectual one than that of the proposed Catholic Lay Commission.

The Catholic Bishops of Ireland having been of late confined to their Dioceses by certain professional duties, and having but recently been informed of the tenor of the proposed Bill and Clauses, have not yet been able to meet for the purpose of discussing the same. They will, however, meet in Dublin for this purpose on the 25th instant, and their sentiments concerning them are already sufficiently known to the undersigned agent who writes this on their and his own and his Clergy's behalf.

J. Milner, D. D.

May 21, 1813.
12, Titchfield-Street, Cavendish-Square.

* It would be too harsh a measure to require the Bishops and Clergy to swear that they "Will not correspond or communicate with the Pope, or with any person authorized by him, on any matter not purely ecclesiastical," to the exclusion of mere literary subjects, or those of humanity, or pure civility.

APPENDIX G.

Copy of Synodical Letter of the Prelates of Ireland.

(COPIA.)

Eminentissime et Reverendissime Domine,

QUANDOQUIDEM " Aliquæ delatæ sunt ad S. " Congregationem de Propaganda Fide querelæ," ut patet ex literis Pro-Præfecti ejusdem, Illustrissimi nempe D. Quarantotti, sub die 15 Februarii hujus Anni, adversus Illustrissimum D. Milner, Episcopum Castabalensem, nostrum apud civile Britanicum gubernium Procuratorem, " utpote [prosequitur Illustrissimus " Quarantotti] qui in aliena Vicariorum Apostolicorum " Negotia se immittere velit, eorumque judicia dam- " nare, non sine magnâ eorumdem tum Auctoritatis, " tum etiam famæ lesione," ad nostrum officium pertinere judicavimus, ipsius defensionem apud S. Congregationem suscipere, præsertim cum ejus Causam agendo, nostram etiam agamus. " Nunciatum est enim," " scribit Illustrissimus Quarantotti, " prædictum D. " J. Milner tum Voce tum publicis Typis criminari " non dubitasse præstantem Virum J. D——, Vicarium " Apostolicum, jam vita sublatum, ejusque eximium " ——— ———, quod ii facultatem Presbytero " Gallo *(Trevaux)* reddiderunt excipiendi fidelium " Confessiones ; quodque in publicis quibusdam con- " troversiis, quæ istius Regni Catholicos afficiunt, " illorum sententia, cum suâ minimè convenit." De his Controversiis, utpote tempore prioribus, primò agemus.

Vertente Anno 1808, multum deceptatum fuit, tam intra quam extra Parliamentum, de quadam pericu-

losa immutatione circa modum institutionis Episcoporum nostrorum per Sedem Apostolicam; circa quam dictus Castabalensis Episcopus duobus antea annis S. Congregationem consulerat. His litibus ut finem imponeremus, utque disciplinam, à S. Sede sancitam, sartam tectam conservaremus, Nos omnes, simul in hac Civitate, die 14 Mensis Septembris ejusdem Anni, congregati, unanimiter decrevimus, " *Non expedire ut* " *quæcunque immutatio disciplinæ actualis fieret;*" quod decretum ab Illustrissimo D. Milner receptum fuit, et à nostris Catholicis fere universis summis laudibus elatum. Hoc decretum graviter tulerunt quidam Viri politici, tam Catholici quam Protestantes, in Anglia; unde, ut illud retunderent, quamdam propositionem artificiosam et dolosam, quæ *Quinta Resolutio* vocatur, excogitabant, eamque quibusdam Catholicis Anglis in Tabernâ, (ad instar Congressûs Emensis,) adunatis subscribendam proponebant, quâ declaratur, " Se (Catholicos nempe) persuasum habere, quædam " esse Media pro *stabiliendo* statu Civili et *Ecclesiastico* " hujus Regni, salvâ fide et disciplina Catholica, et se " paratos esse *alacriter concurrere ad hæc media* " *adhibenda.*"

Huic Quintæ Resolutioni, primum omnes Vicarii Apostolici mutuo consensu restiterunt, sed Artibus quorumdam laicorum decepti, primó ——— ——— in ipsâ tabernâ, die 10 Februarii, 1810, postea cæteri ———, unico D. Milner excepto, illi Nomina sua apposuerunt; adeoque, paucos post dies, Parliamento est oblata, et in omnibus Nunciis publicis proclamata. Eadem resolutio ad Nos transmissa, " uti *nimium ge-* " *neralis, indeterminata, et indefinata, Catholicosque* " *obstringens ad consentiendum futuris Parliamenti* " *placitis seu provisionibus, Ecclesiæ disciplinæ inte-* " *gritati et incolumitati forsan noxiis,*" die 26 ejusdem Mensis Februarii, ab omnibus hisce Episcopis unanimi

Voce rejecta fuit in Comitiis eorum generalibus tunc celebratis; aliaque ab ipsis decreta pro firmandis S. Sedis juribus et Episcoporum auctoritate; simulque gratias egerunt eorum Procuratori, Illustrissimo D. Milner, "*ob Apostolicam suam Constantiam in dicta* "*resolutione obsistenda.*"

En, Eminentissime Domine, prima mali labes, Origo et Caput querelarum ——— ———, quas in pluribus literis ad Nos et D. Milner missis decantabat, quasi ipsorum famæ his decretis et eorum publicatione læserimus! At nobis non licuit, juribus Sedis Apostolicæ, et saluti nostrarum Ecclesiarum (quas illa Resolutio præcipuè respiciebat) providere, simulque nostrum decretum, quindecem antea mensibus factum, sustinere? Interim, si eorum fama læderetur, hoc ex eorum publicis Actibus evenit, et Nos, cum D. Milner, non cessavimus illos admonere, se facilè posse illam resarcire, si vellent solummodo illam resolutionem suam, vel revocare *publicè in facie Parliamenti*, vel ita explicare, ut simul declararent se nulli disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ immutationi consensuros esse *sine Auctoritate Sedis Apostolicæ.* At hoc salutare Consilium, neque pro suâ famâ recuperandâ, neque pro Religione Catholicâ tuendâ, per triennium et amplius sequi voluerunt. Tandem, Mense Majo præterito, verus Sensus hujus Quintæ Resolutionis, simulque prudentia nostrorum Præsulum et D. Milner in illâ respuendâ innotuit; quando lex quædam, à quibusdam politicis Viris, tam Catholicis quam Protestantibus, concinnata, in Parliamento proposita fuit, et fermè condita, non solum injuriosa S. Sedis Auctoritati, et Catholicæ Religionis immunitati, sed plane *schismatica*, (utpote à Catholicis accipienda) *sine ullo istius Sedis consensu.* Huic profanæ legi adeo non obstiterunt —— ——, quin potius, à D. Milner ad resistendum invitati, eidem per conniventiam ——— suffragari videbantur, Catholicosque laicos ad eam

amplectendam incitare. Verum Dei miseratione, obsistentibus Episcoporum nostrorum et D. Milner conatibus, præter omnium expectationem, salvæ factæ sunt Ecclesiæ nostræ pro hac Vice. Verum novæ similes imminent procellæ, in quibus sedandis S. Sedis subsidium et auctoritatem desideramus.

Quod ad alteram —— querelam attinet: nulla est aut fuit unquam quæstio de jure tribuendarum facultatum in Districtu ——; sed *de unitate Catholicâ servandâ* per Vinculum commune, *Successorem scilicit Petri*, quod Nos, cum D. Milner, defendimus, quando ipse Sanctissimus Pater, ob temporum calamitates, nec per se, nec per suos Ministros, illud defendere potuit. Per multos Annos, plures Exules Gallicani, præsertim Londini, non cessaverunt Beatissimum Patrem nostrum per Typos publicos impiis conviciis schismaticis lacessere, quibus (sicut cæteris hostibus S. Sedis per hos 20 Annos) sese opposuit D. Milner. Inter alias hujusmodi impietates, non dubitavit quidam Sacerdos Gallus publicare, " PIUM VII. phantasma Ecclesiæ finxisse " super Bases, quas PIUS VI. ut *impias, hæreticas,* " *et schismaticas condemnaverat;*" itemque " PIUM " VII. fingendo Ecclesiam Concorditati, revocasse " Brevia Prædecessoris sui, et admisisse principia fun- " damentalia Civilis Constitutionis." Librum quemdam *Defensio Clerici Gallicani* dictum, et has ipsas propositiones continentem, per suam subscriptionem Typis mandatum, approbavere Septem Presbyteri Gallicani, Londini degentes, quorum idcirco facultates renovari prohibuit Vicarius Apostolicus Londinensis, 23 Sept. 1808, relictâ tamen iisdem Missam celebrandi licentiâ. Tandem, 24 Feb. 1810, Universi Vicarii Apostolici cum Coadjutoribus et Theologiis suis coadunati, sequens edidere decretum: " Ii Presbyteri, qui " renuunt agnoscere Papam PIUM VII. *non esse* " *hæreticum aut Schismaticum, sive Auctorem vel fau-*

" *torem hæresis aut Schismatis,* interdicendi sunt ab " omnibus functionibus Ecclesiasticis et ab ipsâ Missæ " celebratione in singulis districtibus."—Hoc modo schisma illud repressum fuit; præsertim postquam Nos omnes (ad quos Blanchard provocaverat) ipsius doctrinam, ut *schismaticam*, condemnaveramus: verum ab hoc salutari decreto, nullâ omnino assignatâ causâ, infeliciter resiluit ———; quin imo, quorundam Episcoporum Gallorum Assentatione, ut Nobis videtur, perlinitus, facultates reddidit (nam tunc ——— Negotiis succumbebat) cuidam Presbytero, *De Trevaux* dicto, ex illis publicis Schismatis Approbatoribus, *sine ullâ ejusdem retractatione;* quod summi Scandali bonis, et insignis triumphi malis, præsertim ipsi Blanchard, ejusque fautoribus, causam præbuit. Hoc D. Milner immediatè respiciebat, cum ex regulis Missionis Angliæ,* " Quilibet Presbyter, qui facultates habet in " uno districtu, iisdem in alio quocumque versans uti " potest per integrum mensem, imo iis perpetuo gaudet, " si in confiniis alterius districtûs habitet:" sed, alio modo, hoc respiciebat singulos Præsules Catholicos, præcipué vero Hibernos, qui æquè ac Angli schismaticam Blanchardi doctrinam ejusque fautores jam condemnaverant, utpote qui certi esse debent se, in communione Ecclesiasticâ, cum aliis conjunctos esse, per Unionem suam cum Supremo Ecclesiæ Capite, Unitatis Centro, quæ Unio graviter læditur ab iis qui docent, aut (maximè si Episcopi sint) connivent damnatæ doctrinæ, " Beatissimum Pontificem PIUM VII. esse " Auctorem aut fautorem Schismatis, hæreseos, aut " impietatis." At non duriter egimus cum ———, sed honestis verbis (tam Nos quam D. Milner) inquisivimus, An hæc ita se haberent? Primò respondit, *hæc nos non respicere;* postea, dictum Trevaux *retraxisse;* et

* Ex pacto mutuo V. V. A.

tandem, die 18 Jan. hujus Anni, in Epistola nobis datâ, Typisque mandatâ, scripsit, Presbyterum Trevaux suo Prælato *satisfecisse*, nullâ factâ de satisfactionis modo vel terminis mentione. Interim, Nos persuasum habemus, hunc Presbyterum schismaticam suam doctrinam nec *retraxisse*, nec *retractare velle;* idemque dicendum de quamplurimis aliis ejus Collegis.

De hisce controversiis omnibus pluries scripsit Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis Illustrissimo D. Quarantotti S. Congregationis Vice-Præfecto, et fusiori calamo D. Milner in *Explanatione cum D. P.* Mense Martio 1812, Typis impressâ sed *non vulgatâ*, quam ad Eminentissimum D. Card. della Sommaglia pervenisse scimus: ad eamdem igitur, et inclusam nostram Epistolam Pastoralem Eminentiam Vestram remittimus pro pleniori informatione.——

Interim fausta quæque Eminentiæ Vestræ, debito cum Obsequio, subscribimur, Dublinii, in Conventu nostro generali, die 12 Novembris, 1813,

Eminentissime Domine,

Vestri humillimi et obedientissimi in Christo Servi,

Ricardus O'Reilly, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, &c.

Thomas Bray, Archiepiscopus Casseliensis.

Franciscus Moylan, Episcopus Corcagiensis.

P. J. Plunkett, Episcopus Midensis.

Thomas Castello, Episcopus Clonfertensis.

Patricius Mac Mullan, Episc. Dunensis et Connorensis.

Carolus O'Donnell, Episcopus Derrensis.

Fr. Joannes Thos. Dubliniensis, &c.

Daniel Murray, Archiepiscopus Hieropolis, Coadjutor Dubliniensis.

Jacobus, Episcopus Fernensis.

P. Ryan, Episcopus Germaniciendsis, Coadjutor Fernensis.

Daniel Delany, Episcopus Darensis.

Gulielmus Coppinger, Episcopus Cloynensis et Rossensis.

N. I. Episcopus Duacensis et Fenaberensis.

Jacobus Murphy, Episcopus Clogherensis.
Jacobus O'Shaugnessey, Episcopus Laonensis.
Edmundus Derry, Episcopus Dromorensis,
Petrus Mac Loglin, Episcopus Rapotensis.
Fergallus O'Reilly, Episcopus Kilmorensis.
Andreas Multowny, Vic. Cap. Alladensis.
Carolus Tuohy, Vic. Cap. Limdricensis.
Carolus Sughrue, Episcopus Kerriensis.
Joannes Flinn, Episcopus Acadensis.
Joannes, Episcopus Waterfordiensis et Lismerensis.
Fr. Edvardus French, Wardianus Galsiensis.
Oliverius Kelly, Vic. Cap. Tuamensis.
Georgius Thos. Plunkett, Vic. Cap. Elphinensis.
Petrus Daly, Vic. Cap. Ardacadensis.
Ricardus Mansfield, Vic. Cap. Ossoriensis.

Eminentissimo D. Cardinali di Pietro S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Præfecto.

Concordat cum Autographo,
Fr. Joannes Thomas,
Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis, &c.

APPENDIX H.

Extract from Dr. Milner's PASTORAL CHARGE of March 30, 1813.

ON THE CATHOLIC BIBLE SOCIETY.

HAVING said thus much to you, my Brethren, concerning the doctrine of the Church, I must subjoin a few words concerning the right way of inculcating this

to the people. Of late years you know that numerous Societies have been formed, and incredible sums of money raised throughout the United Kingdom, among Christians of other communions, for the purpose of distributing Bibles gratis to all poor people who are willing to accept of them. In acting thus they act conformably to the fundamental principles of their religion, which teach, that "the Bible contains all things necessary for "salvation, and that it is easy to be understood by every "person of common sense." But who could have imagined that Catholics, grounded upon quite opposite principles, should nevertheless show a disposition to follow the example of Protestants, in this particular; by forming themselves also into *Bible Societies*, and contributing their money for putting the mysterious letter of God's Word into the hands of the illiterate poor, instead of educating Clergymen, even in the present distressing scarcity of Clergy, to expound the sense of that word to them. Yet such has been the influence either of public opinion or of politics upon several Catholics of both Islands at the beginning of this 19th Century! As it is highly probable that the prevailing *Biblio-mania* may soon reach this district, I think it my duty to lay down a few maxims on this subject, which, in the supposed case, you will not fail, my Dear Brethren, to impress upon the minds of your people.

1. When our Saviour, Christ, sent his Apostles to convert the world, he did not say to them: Go and distribute volumes of the Scripture among the nations of the world; but: *Go into the whole world and PREACH the gospel to every creature.* Mark xvi. 15.

2. It is notorious that not one of the nations, converted by the Apostles or their successors, nor any part of a nation, was converted by reading the Scriptures. No, they were converted in the way appointed

by Christ, that of preaching the Gospel, as is seen in the Acts of the Apostles, Bede's History, &c.

3. The promiscuous reading of the Bible is not calculated nor intended by God as the means of conveying religious instruction to the bulk of mankind. For the bulk of mankind cannot read at all; and we do not find any Divine commandment as to their being obliged to study letters. In the next place, the Bible is a book, which, though inspired, is more or less obscure in most parts of it, and full of things *hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest to their own destruction.* 2 Pet. iii. 16. Some texts *seem* to contradict others: several *appear* to inculcate the very vices which God condemns. Hence the worst of crimes may be perpetrated and defended, as they very frequently have been, on the supposed authority of Scripture; when scripture is left to the interpretation of the ignorant or ill-disposed. Thus all the horrors and follies of the Grand Rebellion, even to the murder of the King, were supposed by the people to be authorized by certain texts of Scripture.* In a word, it is evidently a much more rational plan to put the *Statutes at large* into the hands of the illiterate vulgar, telling them to become their own Lawyers, than it is to put the text itself of the mysterious Bible into their hands, for enabling them to hammer their religion and morality out of it.

4. Even the learned among those Christians who make the text alone their rule, cannot agree on the sense of Scripture in its fundamental points; as the endless variations of Protestants on all religious subjects prove. Hence we may infer, what experience proves

* This is acknowledged by Dr. Hey in his Norrisian Lectures, Vol. I. p. 77, and by other ingenuous Protestant writers.

to be the case, that a plain, well meaning man, following that rule, may spend a great deal of time, every day of his life, in reading the Scriptures, without acquiring any clear, consistent plan of religion whatsoever from it. The adoption of the rule and practice in question will indeed unsettle and pervert ignorant Catholics; and on this very account the Bible Societies are so very industrious in deluging Ireland with Bibles; but they will never make a believer in the 39 Articles, or in any other existing or possible Confession of Faith whatsoever.

5. We perfectly agree with the Bibliomanists that the *word of God* is the *bread of life*, and an *inestimable treasure*, brought from *heaven itself*, and which *ought not to be locked up from the most illiterate* of mankind, but which rather ought to be *more largely imparted* to them in *proportion to their ignorance:* but then we know, and we force our opponents occasionally to admit, that the Word of God is *twofold*, the *written word* and the *unwritten word*, or *tradition*. We shew that both these are, and ever have been, carefully preserved in the Catholic Church, and are communicated to the faithful in a manner adapted to their comprehension, by the *viva voce* instructions of her Pastors, whose *first and most essential duty* she declares it is * to break the word of God to them by preaching, as likewise in her approved Catechisms, and other books of instruction and morality. In these all the necessary truths of Revelation, whether contained in the Written or the Unwritten *Word of God*, have been collected together, digested in a regular order, and expressed in the clearest terms by the most learned and pious Prelates and other Divines, under the inspection and authority of the Infallible Church of Christ. Hence it appears,

* Trid. Sept. v. De Ref. c. 2. Sept. xxiv. De Ref. c. 4.

and it really is, that a plain Catholic peasant, who is well grounded in the knowledge of his Catechism, really knows more of the Word of God, as to the sense and substance of it, than a Methodist Preacher, who can repeat the words of the whole Bible by heart.—As to the text itself of the Bible, the Catholic Church, so far from locking that up, *requires her Pastors* to study the whole of it assiduously, as being, by excellence, the *Liber Sacerdotalis;* and she imposes an obligation upon them, under the guilt of a grievous sin, as you well know, to recite no small portion of it every day of their lives. She moreover recommends the reading of it to all persons who have some tincture of learning, and an adequate knowledge of their religion, together with the necessary humility and docility to dispose them (in common with her first Pastors and the Pope himself) to submit their own private opinion upon all articles of faith, to the belief of the Great Church of all ages and all nations.

In conclusion, my Dear and Beloved Brethren, I am confident you will not encourage or countenance the distribution of Bibles or Testaments among the very illiterate persons of your respective congregations, as proper initiatory books of instruction for them. Rather procure for them, if you can, a sufficient number of copies of the *First and Second Catechism*, the *Catholic Christian Instructed*, &c.

J. Milner, Bp. of Castab. V. A.

W. H—n, March 30, 1813.

ADDITIONAL APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION ON THE COPY OF *THE PROTESTATION* IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE Deed of *Protestation* was drawn up, at the latter end of the year 1788, by the late Lord Stanhope, as Mr. Charles Butler asserts *; and thus much the writer is willing to allow, that his Lordship and Robert Lord Petre were greatly concerned in the composition and patronage of it. Being a composition equally faulty in grammar, logic, and theology, it was generally disapproved of by the Catholics at its first appearance. This will be concluded from Mr. Butler's confession, where he writes: "All of them," the four Vicars Apostolic, "made some difficulties to the signing of it; but all of them, except perhaps Mr. Gibson," the Rt. Rev. Mat. Gibson, S. T. P. "waved their objections, and signed it †." The writer well

* *Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics,* vol. ii. p. 112.

† Mr. C. Butler's MS. Letter to the V.V. A. p.28, called *The Red Book, because the copies of it are bound in red Morocco.*

remembers the principal arguments with which he and the rest of the Catholic Clergy, who objected to the theological inaccuracies of the instrument, were plied by the divines and other agents of the Committee, and in the end prevailed upon to sign it. These said: *This is not an oath, and we have an assurance that it will not be followed by any oath: it is merely a treaty between man and man. Now, in such treaties, if there be no deception, there is no moral guilt. True it is, that certain clauses of the Protestation are not expressed with the accuracy of our scholastic theology; but the Protestants, to whom it is to be presented, are not accustomed to the nicety of our schools. To judge of the sense in which they will understand your declarations, you must look at the accusations against you, which the declarations deny. Finally, as the Committee have procured this instrument to be corrected, as far as it was possible to obtain the admission of corrections, you must either sign it as it is, or sit down under the imputation of perjury, treason, and regicide.*

When, by these and other arguments, but most of all by the influence of example, (one leading man being followed by a great many others of less weight) the greater part of our Prelates, Clergy, and Gentry, had signed the Protestation, Mr. Secretary, and the other agents of the Committee, gave themselves no further trouble about the sentiments of the body; but totally omitting the *accusations* contained in the instrument, which accusations they had described as *the key to the answers* in it, and essentially changing the answers themselves in other respects *, they proceeded, contrary to their late positive engagement, to reduce these

* A printed copy of the condemned oath, in its original shape, will be lodged in the Museum, to be compared with the assertions in the Protestation.

into the form of an oath, without consulting with their Prelates or Clergy, or with any other description of Catholics whomsoever. This oath they inserted in the Relief Bill, which they published in the newspapers, and got Mr. Mitford, now Lord Redesdale, to propose in Parliament. The Prelates, however, were on their guard for the safety of their Religion; and accordingly, having met together, first on the 19th of October, 1789, and secondly, on the 21st of January, 1791*, they condemned the Committee's form of oath, as unlawful to be taken by Catholics. These condemnations were followed, each time, by what is called *A Blue Book*†, subscribed with the respectable names of the members of the Committee, but chiefly composed, and wholly published by Mr. Secretary Butler, of Lincoln's Inn. The contest now became formal and earnest, between a small, but compact and powerful set of Catholics, under the direction of this Secretary, and the great body of Catholics throughout England, under their Vicars Apostolic, concerning the tenets of the common Religion; as, in fact, the Oath of the Bill contained many more articles of religious belief, than of civil allegiance.

The present writer was the accredited agent of the Catholic Bishops; in which capacity he got printed and distributed among the members of the House of Commons, the very day on which the Bill containing the censured oath was formally brought into it, a paper entitled FACTS, &c. which produced the most happy effect on the minds of Mr. Pitt and other mem-

* A copy of the latter letter, which quotes all that is material in the first, will be sent to the Museum.

† They were so called because they had no titles, and were covered with blue paper.

bers of the Legislature, in favour of the main body of Catholics. It consisted of the objections of the Catholic Clergy to certain passages in the oath, as also to the adopted title of **PROTESTING DISSENTERS**; of Mr. Butler's answers, in the name of the Committee, to those objections; and of a complete refutation of those answers *.——To rejoin, the learned Secretary's cause did not permit him; his only resource, therefore, was to dispute the writer's authority to memorialize Parliament. Accordingly, he printed and circulated a paper among members of Parliament, which he has since reprinted in his *Third Blue Book*†, (still concealing himself behind the names of the Committee) of which the following is the substance: *We who are the Committee of the English Catholics, approve of and are ready to take the Oath and new title contained in the Bill before you: whereas one J. M. who professes to object, in the name of thousands, to that Oath and title, when called upon for his authority, could only produce the names of three individuals, who, themselves, are not authorized to speak for any other Catholics but themselves* ‡. *If you choose to make an Act of Parliament for these four individuals, you may do so; but we the PROTESTING DISSENTING*

* See above APPENDIX D.

† This paper is printed in the Appendix to the *Third Blue Book*, No. VII. and a copy of it will be deposited, together with this Dissertation, in the Museum.

‡ The author conceals that these three individuals were Vicars Apostolic, whom the whole Catholic body looked up to and invoked, to procure for them an orthodox form of oath. A clear proof of this fact is seen in the printed letter of the 55 priests of Lancashire to their Bishop, which will be sent to the Museum.

CATHOLICS of England will take the Oath as often as it is offered to us. In aid of this deception, a splendid edition of *The Protestation*, on royal paper, containing the names of most of the well-known and respectable Catholics who had signed it, was circulated with the above-mentioned hand-bill, under the pretence that the condemned Oath and the Protestation are the same thing, and that all, who signed the latter, were supporters of the former. It will be readily conceived that the present writer's name, though it had unfortunately been signed to that instrument, was left out of the splendid edition in question; as its appearance in it would have destroyed the illusion, namely, that he and his three friends (the Vicars Apostolic) made a party against all the other Catholics of England *. Several weeks however afterwards, when the fraudulent attempt had totally failed of success, the learned gentleman thought it prudent to print and circulate another royal edition of the Protestation, in which he restored the writer's name, and those of other Catholics, which he had suppressed in the former edition †. Being called, on the 10th of May, 1792, to an account by the writer, for this variation with respect to his name in the two editions, the Secretary pretended to account for it, by alledging that, on the former occasion, *some of the skins of parchment had slipt aside in printing:* but not liking that account, he wrote a letter the next day to the writer, saying that he "did not superintend the press, and was igno-

* A copy of this royal paper edition will be sent to the Museum.

† A copy of this edition also will be lodged in the same national repository.

rant to what accident the omission in question was owing *."

To be brief: the Legislature was not to be imposed upon, either by pompous pretensions or shallow artifices. The House of Commons rejected the new title, and endeavoured to accommodate the oath to the consciences of the prelatic party, that is to say, of the Catholics in general; and the House of Lords, after a thorough investigation of the whole controversy, flung the faulty oath entirely out of their doors †, and gave the Catholics, in its stead, the oath they prayed for, that of their brethren in Ireland. Thus Parliament having interfered, and prescribed to us, in the Oath of our Act, the precise terms in which we are henceforward to abjure the noxious doctrines and practices imputed to us, a legal end was put to the Protestation, and both peace and common sense required that we should argue no more about it. But such was not the will of Mr. Butler and his party: they were resolved to sing a *Te Deum* after their defeat; and therefore, having collected their strength at the *Crown and Anchor Tavern*, on the 9th of June, 1791, a motion was made, that *as the Oath contained in the Act is not expressed in the words of the Protestation, the Catholics adhere to the latter, and will endeavour to get it deposited in the Museum.* The company divided on the motion, when there appeared, according to Mr. Butler's printed account, 21 clergymen and 83 laymen for it, and 30 clergymen (including Bishop Douglass, and Bishop Walmesley's

* The original letter, in the hand-writing of Mr. C. B. being not a confidential, but a hostile one, and relating to a national establishment, is sent to the Museum.

† See an account of the speeches, made on the occasion, in the *Parliamentary Reports*, and in the *Supplementary Memoirs.*

representative, the Rev. W. Coombes, and the writer, who was agent to the Vicars Apostolic) with 42 laymen, against it *. In the mean time, it is unquestionably true, and may be gathered from the printed letter of the Lancashire Clergy, that 99 in every 100 Catholics hold the Protestation, and ever since its malice became manifest in the proscribed Oath, have held it in the utmost detestation.—Such is the history of the Protestation, and such the occasion of a copy of it being lodged by Mr. C. Butler in the British Museum. ——Two words more are necessary for completing this narrative. Certain members of the *Cisalpine Club*, so called, being the succession or continuation of the old Lincoln's Inn Committee, having formed a design, in 1795, of summoning all those who had signed the Protestation to stand forward in defence of its errors, they began with calling the present writer and the Rev. Charles Plowden to an account, in a printed paper †, for certain imputations which they had severally cast, three or four years before, on the authenticity of the copy in the Museum. These authors answered the challenge, each of them in a work of some length ‡; and the Cisalpine lawyers made a feeble reply §, taking

* Mr. Butler's account of this meeting, printed on a broad sheet, will accompany the other papers to the Museum.

† Both the papers of the Cisalpine Reporters, as received by the writer from them, are sent to the Museum.

‡ *A Reply to the Report published by the Cisalpine Club. By the Rev. J. M.* p. 36. *A Letter from the Rev. Charles Plowden to C. Butler, W. Cruise,* &c. p. 44.

§ The present writer was led into one mistake, in his *Reply to the Report of the Cisalpine Club,* by supposing that the list of names signed in 1789 had been affixed to the copies of the Protestation presented to Parliament, and of

care as they did, not to notice the writers' *positive proofs of the spuriousness of the copy*, which proofs will be stated below. Mr. Charles Butler has thought proper, within these two years, to renew the subject*, but without mentioning the names of his opponents; and the present writer has answered him in the above SUPPLEMENTARY MEMOIRS.

It is not to be supposed that those strict Catholics, who object to *The Protestation*, as an inaccurate exposition of their principles on the five heads to which it refers, hold any one of the noxious doctrines rejected in it; they only object to the loose, inaccurate terms in which those doctrines are there denied; for, 1st, *They do not believe that the Pope or a General Council can depose His Majesty, or absolve them from their allegiance to him;* nor, 2dly, that *the Pope or Council can authorize them to take up arms against their Sovereign;* nor, 3dly, that *the Pope can dispense with the obligations of an Oath of Allegiance, or any other oath or compact between man and man;* nor, 4thly, that *the Pope or other Priest has power to pardon sins at his arbitrary will and pleasure;* nor, 5thly, that *faith need not be kept with heretics or infidels.* Still, for example, they believe, contrary to the terms of the Protestation, that *some oaths*, and *vows*, (such as those of immo-

course, that they had afterwards been disannexed. Over this mistake the reporters triumph; yet the writer was led into it by trusting implicitly to Mr. Butler's account of the business in his *Blue Books*. In the first he says, p. 13, "An instrument was generally *signed and presented to both Houses:*" in the third B. B. he says, p. 8, "The Protestation was a solemn instrument, *signed*, with a few exceptions, by all the Clergy, &c.: to the Houses of Parliament your Committee had solemnly presented it."

* Memoirs of Eng. Cath, vol. ii. p. 136.

derate prayer or fasting) *may be dispensed with by the Pope*, and that *sin* (for example original sin) *may, in some circumstances, be remitted at the will of the Priest, as the condition of the remittance;* in as much as it may depend on the will of a Priest to administer the Sacrament of Baptism to an infant or not.

Nor is it to be supposed that, in charging the instrument in the Museum with being *a spurious copy* of the Protestation, instead of being "the *identical original* signed in 1789," as Mr. C. Butler and the three other law-members of the Cisalpine Club maintain it to be, the present writer disputes the honour of the Noblemen and Gentlemen who have stood up in its defence. The fact is, they have been deceived by their lawyers, and have not taken the right method to detect the imposition.

Lastly, however minute and trivial the proofs of spuriousness against the Museum copy may appear to many persons, (as indeed most diplomatic criticism is liable to this objection) and however unimportant they may consider the whole question; namely, which is the original, and which is the copy; yet is this question of importance to the peace and harmony of the Catholic body, in as much as upon its decision another question hangs: Whether they shall, at any future period, be called upon to support and vindicate their signatures to the fraudulent instrument? It is of importance also to the writer, who, 25 years go, was *formally* challenged on the subject by Mr. Butler, and who latterly has been *virtually* challenged by that Gentleman to a contest concerning it. Lastly, the question is of great importance to THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, as *Guardians of the National Archives;* in as much as they ought not to be imposed upon, in the discharge of their high trust, with impunity.

No attestation can be more positive than that of

Mr. Butler in his late publication. He says: "The instrument of Protestation, deposited at the Museum, is the *identical instrument*, which was subscribed by the Gentlemen who attended the general meeting of Catholics at the Crown and Anchor in 1789 *." This is conformable to what he and his three law-brethren of the Cisalpine Club had avowed in their *Further Report*, dated May 12, 1795: "The question is, whether the instrument, lodged in the Museum, be *authentic*; that is, *not a copy*, but the *identical, original instrument* †?" To confirm his assertion, he adds, in the quoted page: "From the time it was signed to the present moment, (December 30, 1791, when the copy was delivered to Dr. Morton, the Librarian of the Museum) it has been in my custody ‡!"—And yet it can be proved to have been frequently, since the beginning of 1789, in the custody of persons who carried it about London to get signatures affixed to it. Such proofs, however, are by no means wanting, since the gentleman's *own hand-writing* is extant, and *will be left in the Museum*, in which he declares as follows, with respect to the instrument at the printing of it: "It was not in my power to superintend the press, and therefore it was *entrusted to another person*, and to what accident the omission in question (of Dr. Milner's name, and above 300 other names in the first royal paper edition) was owing, *I know not*."—Such was the vigilance of the Learned Gentleman over his precious charge! or else, such is the weight of his testimony for the authenticity of the instrument!

On inspecting the instrument itself, which is preserved in a tin box at the Museum, it will be found to contain *no one signature on either of the two skins of parchment* on which it is written; so that

* Mem. vol. ii. p. 138. † P. I. ‡ P. 138.

the list of names may possibly have been affixed to different copies of the Protestation, or to other instruments. This defect alone would disqualify a petition from being received by either House of Parliament: some names must appear signed on the parchment or paper which contains the petition, or else it incurs the suspicion of fraud. This suspicion is increased in the present instance, by the appearance of 33 empty needle-holes at the top of the third sheet, where the signatures begin*, as that circumstance proves that it has been sewed to some other parchment or paper besides the one to which it is now affixed.

In the next place, every inspector of the Museum copy must be struck at the superior *freshness* of the two skins containing the instrument itself, compared with those containing the signatures; whereas, supposing it to be the original, [from its general interest, and therefore, from its being inspected and handled by a great number of persons, and being carried about in town and country] it might be expected to be much more soiled than the skins containing each of them nothing but a certain number of names. Nor do these two skins agree with the others in their *quality*, their *dimensions*, or in the *perpendicular lines* drawn down them. Now it is not to be supposed that Mr. Butler, in taking measures for the formation of *one and the same important instrument*, at the beginning of the year 1789, bought parchment of one quality, size, and decoration, for one part of it, and of another quality, size, and decoration, for another part of it. No, this is not to be believed; but rather, that the learned Secretary, being dissatisfied with the numerous faults in grammar,

* The original letter of the Rev. Samuel Ayscough, an officer of the British Museum, to the writer, dated March 4, 1795, concerning this matter, will be left at the Museum.

punctuation, &c. which disgrace the original, and also with some slight ones in the context, did [in the early part of the year 1791, when he gave his *corrected* edition on royal paper] cause a fresh manuscript copy to be made on such parchment as he then found, and, that he sewed it, but accidentally in fresh needle-holes, at the top of the list of signatures.

But to proceed to proof positive against the authenticity of the Instrument in the Museum: I now hold in my hand that *printed copy of the Protestation*, which Mr. Butler circulated throughout England in the month of April, 1789, with skins of parchment, to obtain signatures to it, as likewise the *identical printed paper* that accompanied the printed copy and skin of parchment which I then received from the said Gentleman. In this printed paper the Secretary vouches for the *accuracy* of the said copy, in the following words: "You receive with this a printed copy of the PROTESTATION, *which has been attentively compared with the original, now in my custody*, and with it a skin of parchment, upon which you, and those whose signatures you procure, are requested to write your names, and I am, &c. Charles Butler. Lincoln's Inn, April 7, 1789." These two papers will be deposited in the Museum. The purport of what is here stated, is confirmed by Mr. Butler and his three law colleagues of the CISALPINE CLUB, in their *Further Report*, dated May 10, 1795, which will equally be left at the Museum. This Report says: "When the signatures were collected, and, by reason of the distance of the parties, the original instrument could not be sent, *a printed copy of it was transmitted*, together with a skin of parchment, and, in some instances, the printed copy was sewed to the parchment*." Thus it is demon-

* Page 3.

strated, not only that the printed copies in question were conformable to the original, as it stood in 1789, but also that they were, with respect to the great body of Catholics, dispersed throughout England, THE ORIGINAL itself which they signed. This point being settled, I carry my *attested copy* to the Museum, and compare it with *the Instrument deposited there* by Mr. Butler, Dec. 30, 1791, when I presently discover several striking differences between one of them and the other. That which first strikes my eyes, is, that the different sections in the attested copy of 1789, are all marked with *Roman numericals* thus, I. II. III. IV. V.; whereas the same are marked, in the present parchment at the Museum, with *Arabic figures*, and corresponding letters, thus: 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th.— Surely Mr. Butler will not say, that any printer in England would, of his own authority, presume to make, or that he himself, as an *attentive collator*, would have overlooked the five conspicuous changes in question.

I now proceed to collate the text of Mr. Butler's attested copy with the pretended original. In paragraph the second of section II. I read thus in the former: "We believe that no act, that is in itself immoral or dishonest, can ever be justified by or under colour that it is done either for the good of the Church, OR OBEDIENCE to any ecclesiastical power whatever."— To do a thing *for obedience*, is avowedly ungrammatical, and therefore Mr. Butler, in the parchment at the Museum, and in the several printed editions which he gave in 1791 and the following years, corrected the clause FOR OBEDIENCE into IN obedience.

In the next paragraph of the same second section another solecism occurs in Mr. Butler's collated text of 1789, in these words: "And we do solemnly declare, that no Church OR any Prelate, nor any Priest, nor

any assembly of Prelates or Priests, &c." It is plain that, according to the rules of grammar, the positive particle OR ought to be changed into the negative particle NOR; and accordingly Mr. Butler has so changed it in the parchment, and in all his late editions.

At the beginning of section V. in the attested copy, the charge against Catholics stands thus: "And we have been accused of holding, as a principle of our Religion, that "Faith is not to be kept with Heretics."—This charge is more broadly put, and, of course, the text altered in the Museum parchment and the four different editions which Mr. Butler has given of the Protestation since the spring of 1791 *, thus: "No Faith is to be kept with Heretics."

What confirms the fact already proved, and renders it equal to mathematical demonstration, namely, that the *Original Protestation* in 1789 was conformable

* The four editions are, 1st, The folio edition on royal paper, distributed to Members of Parliament, with a hand-bill, dated March 31, 1791, being the edition in which Dr. Milner's name, with those of above 300 other subscribers to the Protestation, are omitted;—2dly, Another royal paper folio edition, containing the omitted names, and circulated about six weeks after the former;—3dly, The quarto edition, published in 1792, as an Appendix to the *Third Blue Book;* 4thly, The octavo edition, lately published in *The Memoirs of English Catholics*, vol. ii. p. 113. In this last edition, besides all the varieties in the Museum-Parchment, and his printed editions since the beginning of 1791, Mr. Butler has adopted some fresh alterations. For example, in page 115, line 29, for *owe*, he puts *hold;* and line 9, for *thereof*, he puts *of it*. At p. 117, l. 3, and, whereas, *in all former editions*, the charge against us is, that "we can give no security for our allegiance to ANY government," Mr. B. in the present edition strikes out the word *any*, &c.

to the attested copies of it then circulated throughout the Catholic body, and signed by a great proportion of them, and that, of course, the Instrument deposited by Mr. Butler in the Museum, Dec. 30, 1791, is *not that Original* but a corrected copy of it, is the circumstance which follows :—Robert, Lord Petre, who, by Mr. Butler's account, in his late *Historical Memoirs**, was the first Catholic in possession of the Original Protestation, having received it from its supposed author, the late Lord Stanhope, and who, as the ostensible head of the Committee, had always access to it, choosing himself to give an edition of it in 1790, as an Appendix to his *Letter to Dr. Horsley, Bishop of St. David*'s†, agrees, *in every one* of the above-mentioned particulars, with the attested copy. His sections throughout are marked with *Roman*, not *Arabic* numericals. His text contains each of its solecisms, FOR *obedience*, instead of IN *obedience*,—NO *Church* OR *any Prelate*, instead of NO *Church* NOR *any Prelate*. Finally, he quotes the charge at section V. as the attested copy does, "*Faith is* NOT *to be kept with Heretics*," instead of, "NO *Faith is to be kept, &c.*" as the text has been altered in the Museum copies, and the editions printed since the beginning of the year 1791. These facts shew, not only that the Parchment in the Museum is an *altered copy*, instead of the "identical original Protestation, signed in 1789," but also they point out, within a twelvemonth, when the former was fabricated; namely, the fabrication must have happened between March 22, 1790, the date of Lord Petre's letter to Bishop Horsley, and March 31, 1791, the

* Page 112.

† The letter is dated March 22, 1790. Faulder, Bond-street, 1790.

date of the hand-bill which accompanied the first corrected edition, circulated among Members of Parliament.

The above-mentioned variations of the modern Protestation in the Museum, from the attested copy of the Original, has long been known to the writer; but having visited London within these few days, he once more visited the National Archiveum, namely yesterday, June 12, 1820, for the purpose of collating the two instruments together with greater nicety than he had heretofore done. The variations between them he has marked in the manner that printed proofs are corrected, on the margins of the attested copy, which copy a few days hence will be deposited with the other documents in the Museum. On numbering them up, he finds they amount to above 170 in a single page! To be brief: the fabricator of the Museum copy has followed quite a different system of pointing, dividing, using capital and small characters, and, in two instances, of spelling, from that of the attested copy, and therefore of the Original Protestation itself; and almost all of these 170 alterations, as they stand in the Museum Parchment, and the four editions since 1791, are manifest improvements of the old text of 1789.———In short: as evidently true as is the mathematical axiom, *Quæ non sunt æqualia uni tertio, ea non sunt æqualia inter se:* so evidently true is it, that the Instrument in the Museum is not the Original Protestation of 1789, but a corrected copy of it of a later date, to which the signatures of the former instrument have been annexed, by sewing them on to it. This, however, it is evident, could not be done without a gross injury to the 1500 subscribers in question, to the 104 individuals, who, in opposition to 72 other individuals, voted to place the Original in the Museum; as likewise to the Trustees

of the National Archives, to whom it was delivered, in the person of the late Dr. Morton, on the 30th of December, 1791, as the said Original.

The present writer cannot quit this subject without a remark on the needle-holes at the top of the first skin. These seem to argue that it was preceded by another skin, now cut away, and which he supposes to have contained the title that Mr. Butler gave to the two royal folio editions, and to the Blue Book quarto edition of it, namely, "*The Declaration and Protestation signed "by the ENGLISH CATHOLIC DISSENTERS in "1789, with the names of those who signed it.*" This title, however, being extremely odious to Catholics, and rejected by Parliament some time before the Act of Relief passed, the Secretary was obliged to abandon it.

But, whatever may be said of the top of the scroll, Mr. Butler has most decidedly vitiated its character, as a genuine instrument, at the bottom of it, by affixing to it, as a part belonging to it, (and this without the authority or the knowledge of any description of Catholics whomsoever,) an additional skin of parchment, containing an account of the Protestation, which *suppresses the truth and insinuates falsehood* in many particulars. In giving this account, in fairness he ought to have recorded what he has elsewhere confessed, the *unwillingness of the Prelates*, Clergy, and other Catholics, to sign that Instrument in the first instance, and the *explanations* under which they unwillingly signed it afterwards; which fair statement would, at once, have undermined the boast of its being "A monument of political and moral integrity!" Ought he not also to have informed posterity, that the Legislature, having weighed the objections of conscientious Catholics against the faulty instrument, was pleased, in its humanity and wisdom, to appoint the test or form of Protestation against bad doctrine, which it deemed

proper for Catholics to adhere to, and that the parchment in the Museum was brought thither from no honourable motive? But, whereas he represents, as certain facts, that *only four Catholics* wished to withdraw their names from the Protestation, and that a General Meeting of them resolved to place it in the Museum; ought he not to have signified, that even at that partial and influenced assembly, thirty Priests and forty-two laymen voted against twenty-one Priests and eighty-three laymen, that *it should not be there deposited, or held in further remembrance,* and that the same was and is the well-known general sentiment of English Catholics?

Relative to the list of signatures, the writer will say but two words. The learned Gentleman professes, in his additional skin, containing his letter to Dr. Morton, and in the title to all his later editions of the Instrument, to give "*The Declaration and Protestation signed by the English Catholic Dissenters in* 1789, *with the names of those who signed it.*" This, in its plain sense, means that he gives *all the names of those who then signed it, and no other names but those.*" Now it has been demonstrated from the documents presented to the Museum, that the learned editor printed and circulated among Members of Parliament, in the spring of 1791, a splendid edition of the Protestation, with a professed *list of those who signed it,* which list, however, was deficient in *more* than 300 names! and that, in excuse for this, he alledged *he did not know to what accident the omission was owing!* On the other hand, on comparing the last skin of signatures in the Museum-instrument, with the second Royal paper and the Blue Book editions, which are represented as containing a full and perfect list of the subscribers' names, certain names are seen in the first mentioned which do not appear in the latter, and among others that of the noted Dr. Alex-

ander Geddes. The admission of this *Scotch unbeliever's name* into a public Register of *English Catholics* is a peculiar injury to them; as, when they were reproached with having a writer among them, who did not believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures, they were accustomed to answer that *Dr. Geddes did not belong to them, being suspended as a priest and excommunicated as a Catholic.* This plea, however, Mr. Butler attempts, by his own authority, to deprive them of; at the same time that he imposes, on the Guardians of the National Archives, an interpolated list of names, as well as a spurious record.

J. M. D. D.

List of Papers respecting The authenticity of the Protestation of the Catholics in the British Museum, *presented to the M. Rev., R. Rev., Rt. Hon., and other Trustees of that Archiveum, with a Dissertation on the subject by Dr. Milner, June* 1, 1820.

No. 1. The first printed copy of the Protestation, circulated among Catholics by Charles Butler, Esq. in the Spring of 1789, and signed, as an *original*, by most Catholics out of London. With this edition agrees that of Lord Petre, published by him in his *Letter to Dr. Horsley*, March 22, 1790.

No. 2. Accompanying printed letter of Mr. Butler, dated April 7, 1789, in which he certifies, that his printed letter "has been attentively compared with the original."

No. 3. First royal paper edition of the Protestation, circulated among Members of Parliament in

April 1791. In this edition certain changes are made, and the name of Dr. Milner, with those of above three hundred other subscribers, is left out.

No. 4. Copy of a hand-bill, called *State of Facts*, circulated with the last mentioned edition, and afterwards republished in *The Appendix to the Third Blue Book.* No. VII. The object of this hand-bill, and of the imperfect list of names, was to make it appear that the Committee-party were *all the Catholics of England*, and that Dr. Milner was supported only by *three nameless persons* (the Vicars Apostolic.)

No. 5. Printed letter from the Clergy of Lancashire, to the number of fifty-five, dated Jan. 1, 1789. In this they testify, that "few either of the Ecclesiastics or the Laity will take the Oath," grounded on the Protestation; and they call upon their Prelate, with his brethren, "to strike out some other line."

No. 6. Printed Copy of *Heads of the Bill* for the relief of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*, with the Oath it contained, as settled by Mr. B. &c. and advocated by him in his first Blue Book. The Oath is far more objectionable than the Protestation.

No. 7. Second royal paper edition, for the use of Parliament, containing a perfect list of names, as they then stood, and circulated about six weeks after the first edition on Royal-paper.

No. 8. Original letter (hostile, *not confidential*) from Charles Butler, Esq. to Dr. Milner, in which he confesses that *another person*, and *not himself*, superintended the press, when the mutilated list of names was printed; and that *he knows not how the omission happened.*—Of course the Protestation was not at that time in his custody.

No. 9. Mr. Butler's printed account of the Tavern Meeting, June 9, 1791, when a majority of the laity

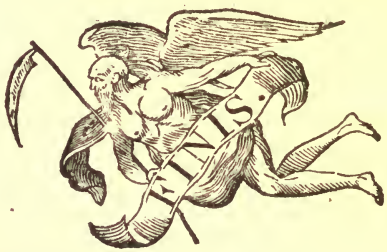
present, in opposition to their Bishops and a majority of the Clergy, voted to send the (supposed) Original Protestation to the Museum.

No. 10. First *Report* of Mr. Butler and three other lawyers of the Cisalpine Club, on the authenticity of the parchment sent to the writer 28 Feb. 1795.

No. 11. *Further Report* of ditto, May 12, 1795.

No. 12. Original letter of the Rev. Samuel Ayscough, Sub-librarian of the Museum, to the writer, on the state of the Museum Parchment.

No. 13. Mr. Butler's fourth edition of the Protestation, printed as an *Appendix to the Third Blue Book;* which, though it was printed after the parchment containing the name of Dr. Geddes, was delivered by him to the Museum; yet, as this edition was intended for the use of Catholics, that name has been left out of it by the Editor.



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